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V. — *The Arcado-Cyprian Dialect.*

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RECENT investigations in the field of Greek dialectology have chosen to restrict the term "Aeolic" to the dialect of Lesbos and of the adjacent mainland. Formerly "Aeolic" referred with more or less fluctuating usage to Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian, Elean, Arcadian, and Cyprian. This delimitation of "Aeolic" is the result of that revolution in the study of the Hellenic dialects which has broken definitely with the old-time division of Strabo, a division which now finds its sole support in the authority of the name of Curtius. (See Windisch, Georg Curtius, *eine Charakteristik*, p. 13; Curtius, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 150–163.) In place of the ancient and revered, quadrilateral division, there has now been substituted that into  $\bar{a}$  and  $\eta$  dialects.<sup>1</sup> The cause of the adoption of a new terminology is at once apparent if we consider that Strabo's "Aeolic" is made to comprise each and every peculiarity of speech that is not Doric or Ionic-Attic.

In the paper published in the *American Journal of Philology*, 1887, Vol. VII, 421–445, I attempted an examination of the interrelations of the dialects of Thessaly, Boeotia, Lesbos and Elis, and sought to portray their connection with the North Greek of Locris and Phocis. It is the purpose of the present article to submit to a preliminary examination the last member of the so-called Aeolic group — the Arcadian dialect — in the hope of defining its interrelations with other Hellenic dialects with greater precision than has hitherto been done. The material here collected is designed to serve as the basis of a discussion of the question in a volume on the Greek dialects now in preparation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, Pezzi, *La Grecità non ionica nelle iscrizioni più antiche* in the *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 1883, pp. 251, 252.

As any examination of the morphological and syntactical features of Arcadian cannot be complete without reference to those of allied dialects, it is imperative in the first instance to draw within our horizon that dialect with which Arcadian is in keenest sympathy. It has therefore been my aim to examine every word-form in the inscriptions (as also many of the Hesychian glosses) in the light of the agreement or difference of Arcadian and Cyprian; to offer new or modified explanations of individual forms when this seemed necessary; and to illustrate the phenomena of dialect life in Arcadia and in Cyprus by constant reference to similar or divergent phenomena in all the other Hellenic dialects. It is singular that so important a period of the life of the Greek language as the Arcado-Cyprian dialect has never been reconstructed in its entirety so far as the paucity of materials at our command permits any such reconstruction. If attained, it presents a wide outlook over the early history and configuration of the dialects.

The dialect of Arcadia was discussed for the first time in a separate paper by Gelbke in the second volume of Curtius' Studien (1869). This treatise is not thorough, and its explanation of points of detail, is, as a rule, antiquated. In the tenth volume of the Studien (1878), Schrader undertook to separate the "Aeolic" from the Doric features of Arcadian. The course of the following investigation will show that Schrader's manipulation of material is not happy; and his paper does not deserve the praise bestowed upon it by Wilkens in his discussion of the Greek dialects in the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Finally Spitzer, Lautlehre des Arkadischen (1883), has offered a most valuable contribution to the subject by submitting to an elaborate investigation certain portions of the morphology of the dialect. It is to be regretted that this treatise, though disfigured here and there by incautious conjectures, did not extend its horizon so as to embrace an examination of all the phenomena which go to make up the Arcadian dialect.

As to Cyprian, I have had to base my results upon my own studies of the inscriptions of Deecke's *corpus* in Collitz's

Sammlung, Vol. I, and of those that have since come to light,<sup>1</sup> so far as they have come to my knowledge. Rothe has submitted to a partial examination the vowel relations of the Hesychian glosses (*Quaestiones de Cypriorum dialecto et vetere et recentiore*, Part I, 1875). Both this treatise and that by Beaudouin (*Étude du dialecte Chypriote moderne et médiéval*, 1884) leave much to be desired. In the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VIII, 467-471, I have made a list of words generally regarded as poetical, but found in Cyprian prose. Greek dialectologists cannot fail to welcome so indispensable an auxiliary to their investigations as the promised grammar of Cyprian forms by Dr. I. H. Hall. That part of Meister's second volume which deals with Arcadian and Cyprian, though printed has not appeared. While the present sketch of Cyprian chiefly deals with but one source of information concerning the dialect, — the epigraphic material, — it is hoped that it may serve not merely as a comparison between Arcadian and Cyprian, but also as a preliminary summary of the grammar of the latter dialect.

My plan in detail embraces an attempt at establishing the character of the Arcado-Cyprian dialect, *i.e.* of Arcadian before Cyprian attained to the dignity of individual existence. This is undertaken in two ways: (1) By tracing all those points of agreement which are the exclusive property of Arcado-Cyprian. (2) By collecting all those instances of phonetic and inflectional resemblance which are the joint property of both Arcadian and Cyprian and of other Hellenic dialects.

It is apparent that the first category is of incomparably greater importance in determining the character of the primitive Arcado-Cyprian. It is no new observation in Greek dialectology that phenomena which are exclusively confined to one dialect are extremely rare. Their very rarity enhances their value. The singular sympathy of the Hellenic

<sup>1</sup> Pamphylian forms have occasionally been drawn into discussion when they seem in close touch with Cyprian. But cases of agreement between Arcadian and Pamphylian alone have been left unnoticed, *e.g.* Ἐχί<sup>1</sup>as, Pamph. *Ἐχέρω*. A Boeotian *ἔχ<sup>1</sup>as* does not exist.

dialects with each other, despite the configuration of Hellas, voices itself in the fact that one dialect is differentiated from another by displaying merely more or less allegiance to another dialect, be it that of a neighboring or even of a distant speech-centre. Qualitative distinctions here often resolve themselves upon nearer view into quantitative differences. In discussing the instances of joint similarity, I have endeavored to distinguish, as far as possible, the age of the phonetic change in question, since chronological distinctions, oftentimes overlooked in dialect investigations, are of an importance that can scarcely be exaggerated. Those phonetic changes that occur in a period of declining dialect vigor are manifestly of little importance for the establishing of a pre-historic dialect. For example, to the overreaching character of the  $\hat{A}$  declension, the  $-\epsilon\varsigma$  declension has yielded, after a stubborn resistance, many of its most characteristic forms.

Then as to the points of divergence, which are oftentimes as powerful factors in determining the position of a dialect as the points of contact. It has been my aim to register each case in which Cyprian has followed a different phonetic path from Arcadian; and when Cyprian — or, *vice versa*, Arcadian — does not offer as yet an example of the phenomenon in question, care has been taken to allude to this fact to prevent the possibility of erroneous conclusions being drawn from the unjust application of the argument from silence.

Besides the necessity of noting whenever Arcadian or Cyprian corresponds with Doric or Ionic, or with both, it was imperative to discover in the dialects of the "Aeolic" type (*i.e.* Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian, Elean) their points of agreement with Arcadian or with Cyprian. Hence I have arranged the Arcadisms not found in Cyprus under the following heads: *Arcadian and Aeolic*, *Arcadian and Thessalian*, *Arcadian and Boeotian*, etc.; and wherever two or more of these dialects are in agreement I have essayed, as far as was in my power, to bring them into line. The same course has been held with Cyprian, that it might be brought into the clearest focus.

Phonetic changes common, for example, to Arcadian and

Boeotian, and which reappear in Doric alone, are placed almost invariably under the head of *Arcadian and Boeotian*, from a pardonable desire to throw the strongest light upon the points of contact between Arcadian and all the dialects tinged with "Aeolism." But by this convenient principle of division it is hoped no prejudice will be excited against the possibility that the form in question is not Doric in character. It is not my purpose, nor is it in my power, to answer all the vexatious questions that start up from every side, the deeper one penetrates into the many-colored phenomena of the dialect life of Hellas. But when it seems tolerably clear that we have to deal with a loan form (though I am by no means certain that I have always made a decision which is satisfactory even to myself), I have preferred to group this class under a special head. Though for my immediate purpose the most coherent principle of division seems to be that of the various dialects of the "Aeolic" type in their connection with Arcadian or with Cyprian, I am conscious that this point of departure, rather than that of phonetic changes, has brought with it a certain incoherence, for which the index may be at least a partial remedy.

The points of agreement and difference between Arcadian, Cyprian, and other dialects having been exhausted, I have given a list of the chief specific peculiarities of the two dialects under discussion.

The tie which bound metropolis and colony is nowhere more strikingly indicated than in the domain of language. Thus, for example, we have *τόνς τάνς* in Argos and in Crete, the infinitive ending *-μειν*, possibly a contamination of *-μειν* with *-ειν*, in Rhodes, Agrigentum, and Gela. And in fact throughout the entire history of Greek colonization the colony clung with an affection to the language of its source which ever awakens the sympathies of the philologist — Sparta and Heraclea, Thera and Cyrene, Megara and Byzantium, Corinth and Corcyra, etc.

Without any express testimony on the subject, we might with safety conclude upon an examination of the epigraphic material that Cyprian stood in nearest touch with the parent

Arcadian. But in this case the evidence of language is unequivocally supported by the testimony of antiquity. The Arcadian descent of the original Greek settlers of Cyprus is asserted by Paus. VIII. 5, 2: Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης . . . χειμῶν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ Τάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστής. Cf. also Herodotus VII, 90, Strabo XIV, p. 684, and the conjecture given below on page 124.

The connection between Arcadian and Cyprian is perhaps closer than that between any other dialects of Hellas, that have at the same time such varied points of divergence. If we consider the very early date of the settlement of Cyprus by Arcadians, the long years of total separation afterwards, we cannot fail to account the close touch between Arcadian and Cyprian a most remarkable fact. The settlement was made in all probability before the Arcadian settlers in Cyprus had made to any great degree practical use of the Greek alphabet. It seems scarcely credible that a Greek alphabet of any developed character, and in constant use, should have been completely displaced by the Cyprian syllabary, though commercial intercourse with the Phoenicians was frequent from at least 1100 B.C. Yet it cannot be too distinctly asserted that writing became known to the early Peloponnesians through the intermediation of the Achaeans and Ionians, and that it was known in the Homeric age even if it is not alluded to in the Iliad and Odyssey. This is clear from the character of the alphabet in Thera, Melos, and Crete, as well as in Lycia and Phrygia. The suppression of a Greek alphabet in Cyprus is a fact noteworthy for its very isolation. See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 290.

#### SPECIFIC PECULIARITIES OF ARCADO-CYPRIAN.

The following points of contact date from the Arcado-Cyprian period, and are shared in by no other Hellenic dialect.

1. -av in the genitive sing. masculine  $\hat{A}$  declension. *Arcadian*: Ἀγαθίαν, 1231, B 38; Ἀλεξιάδαν, 1231, B 25; Γοργυππίδαν, 1231,

B 37; ἔργωνίαν, 1222<sub>42</sub>; φιστίαν, 1203<sub>18</sub>; Καλλίαν, 1231, B 19; cf. C 49; Φιλίαν, 1189, A 75; Φιλλίαν, 1231, B 17; and in thirty-two other words in Collitz's *Dialekt-Inschriften Sammlung* (C D I), with seven cases of -αν, the former part of the word having been lost. *Cyprian*: Ἀρισταγόραν, 28; Ἀριστίαν, 20; Ἀτίταν or Ἀτί(ν)ταν, 25; Θεμίαν, 66; Ἰαρώ(ν)δαν, 118; Μαράκαν, 29; Νασιώταν, 21; Ὀνασαγόραν, 60<sub>1-2, 22</sub>; Στασίαν, 17; for Ταμυγόραν, Hall, *Rev. Journal A. O. S.*, XI, 233,<sup>1</sup> read Τιμαγόραν; Ὀνασιμάλα[v], C D I, 120; Ὀνασαγόραν Τιμογόραν, *Berl. Phil. Wochens.*, 1886, pp. 1291, 1292, 1612; Πινυταγόραν, *ibid.*, 1612.

The quantity of *a* in -αν is uncertain. Brugmann, *Gramm.*, § 79, suggests *ān*; G. Meyer, *ān*. If short, *ān* from *āu*, when standing originally before an initial sibilant of the following word (twice before a consonant, four times before a vowel in the inscriptions) might be explained as Ζεὺς from \*Ζηvs, νᾶυσί from νᾶυσί. But we have here rather a lightening of the masc. case termination in the *Ā* decl., appearing also in πολίτου; which is not from analogy to ἀνθρώπου, but from \*πολιτηο, whence πολίτεω and \*πολιτεο. See Bechtel in *Bezenberger's Beiträge* X, 283.

The converse of this contraction of *ao* to *av* is seen in the Ionic *Καοκασιών ταῖστα*, etc. The *v* of Arcado-Cyprian *av* is not *ū*, but the old *u* sound. We must distinguish sharply the dialectic change of final and of medial *ao*, since in Boeotian medial *ao* alone became *av*; in Arcado-Cyprian medial *ao* never contracts to *av*. ΤΙ[ρ]εύχαι, Roehl, 127, *i.e.* Coll. 871, and Σανκράτεις, Σαύμειλος, which are adduced by Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>2</sup> p. 63, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*,<sup>2</sup> § 120, as examples of *a + o = av*, admit of another but not certain explanation,<sup>2</sup> which may also hold good in the case of the forms in *Δαν-* (*e.g.* *Δανδικεύς* in late Attic). On the Arcadian fem. gen. in *av*, see p. 103.

NOTE.—The more original form -*ao* (as in Homer and in Boeotian) is found in Cyprian, but never in Arcadian. But two forms occur: *Δαγατίσao* (or *Δαῖτίσao*), 58, and *Κυπραγόροο*, 79, both of uncertain date. In order to escape from the necessity of regarding this -*ao* as a survival of the original -*ao*, an assumption which excites the hostility of surprise if in Arcado-Cyprian final *ao* became *av*, it is advisable that we regard this -*ao* as due to the orthographical fluctuation between *ao* and *av*. Such variation is, it is true, chiefly Ionic, but found also in Attic: *Ἀδοκρά[τ]ης*; Kumanudes, *Ἀττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ.*, 2597. It is difficult to see whence Cyprian -*ao* could have been borrowed, as

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is regarded as spurious by Voigt and Deecke.

<sup>2</sup> By parallelism of the forms of the base *σao-*, viz. (1) *σανο-*, *σao-*, and (2) *σαν* before consonants, *σα-* before vowels. (See Spitzer, *Lautlehre des Arkadischen*, pp. 43, 44.)



*ao* had ceased to exist except in Boeotian at the period in which these two inscriptions were composed; and that *-ao* should have become *-au* both in Cyprian and Arcadian, after their separation, is improbable. If the above explanation, which I present with hesitation, be not adopted, another possibility will the more readily gain the suffrage of scholars, — that the Cyprian forms in *-ao* are nothing more than conscious archaisms.

2. ἀπύ with the dative.<sup>1</sup> *Arcadian*: ἀπνέσ[θ]ω δὲ ὁ ἀδικήμενος τὸν ἀδικέντα ἰν ἀμέραις τρισὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀν τὸ ἀδίκημα γένητοι, 1222<sub>3-5</sub>. *Cyprian*: ἀπὸ τῶν ζῶν τῶν βασιλῆφος, 60<sub>8, 17</sub>; ἀφ' οὗ φοι τῶν εὐχολᾶς ἐπέτυχε, 59<sub>3</sub> (*a·po·i·vo·i*).

In No. 103 Deecke reads [ἀ]π' ὠποδακῶ(ν), but *po·*, which is written cursively by Deecke should rather be upright, as it is uncertain; and *ta·*, upright in Deecke, ought to be cursive. Hall has *ko·* (or *po·*) *i·to·ta·ko·* (or *po·*).<sup>2</sup>

3. ἐς, *i.e.* ἐκ ἐξ with the dative. *Arcadian*: Κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες τὸν μὲν ἐργάταν ἐσδέλλοντες ἐς τοὶ ἔργοι, τὸν δὲ ἐργῶναν ζαμόντες ἰν ἐπὶκρισιγ, 1222<sub>49-53</sub>. *Cyprian*: ἐξ τῶν φοίκωι τῶν βασιλῆφος κὰς ἐξ τῶν πτόλυι, 60<sub>5, 6</sub>; ἐξ τῶν χώρωι τῶνδε, 60<sub>11</sub>; ἐξ τῶν ζῶν τῶνδε ἰ ἐξ τῶν κάπωι, 60<sub>24</sub>. Cf. p. 72 for Cyp. ἐς.

4. *vσι* in the third plural active. Doric, Elean, North Greek, *-ντι*; Boeot., *-νθι*; Aeolic, *-ισι*.<sup>3</sup> *Arcadian*: κ[ρ]ίνωνσι, 1222<sub>5</sub>; κελεύωνσι, 1222<sub>15</sub>; παρετάξωνσι, 1222<sub>28</sub> (from *παρετάξω* in the sense of *ἐξετάξω*). *Cyprian*: ἔξο(ν)σι (*e·ke·so·si·*), 60<sub>31</sub>, where Deecke transcribes *ἔξωσι*. In the same line *ῶνσι* (*i·o·si*); but as Deecke has *ῶσι*, this case of similarity between Arcadian and Cyprian is not free from suspicion.<sup>4</sup>

The Pamphylian dialect, though in its ground-type Doric in character, is so frequently colored by its proximity to Cyprus, that its forms may here be offered in evidence, *e.g.* ἐξάγωδι, 1267<sub>16</sub>. Here we have *δι* = Doric *τι*, but no *ν* graphically expressed, though it was the cause of *τ* becoming *δ*.

It cannot be shown that the *-νθι* of Boeotian and (probably) of Thessalian is the middle sound between *-ντι* and *-νσι*, or that it is anything more than a local affection. The assibilation in Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian has no need to seek its cause in Ionic influence.

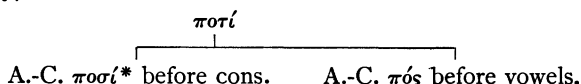
<sup>1</sup> M. Geyer, *Observationes epigraphicae de praepositionum graecarum forma et usu*. Altenburg, 1880, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Meister in the Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1885, p. 1604, reads *ποὶ τὰτακῶ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Müller, *De ζ littera inter vocales posita*, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Brand, *De dialectis Asiaticis*, p. 22, writes *-νσ-*; so also Johansson in *Några ord om dialekter*, p. 31.

5. *πός* = *Arcadian*: *πός*, 1222<sub>54</sub>; *ποσκατυβλάβη*, 1222<sub>38</sub>; *πόσοδομ*, 1222<sub>9</sub>. *Cyprian*: *πός*, 60<sub>19-20, 21</sub>; and perhaps in *ποεχόμενον*, 60<sub>19, 21</sub>, if Deecke is correct (Collitz Sammlung, I, p. 12). Meister, however (Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1885, p. 1604), claims that this *ποεχόμενον* represents *ποεχόμενον*, and finds *ποῖ* in *ποῖ τῶτακῶ*, Coll. No. 103 (the accent is uncertain: *ποῖ* or *πσί*). At present *ποῖ* has turned up in the Oeanthean inscription, Coll. No. 1479<sub>15</sub> (about 430 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>; in Troezen Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 62<sub>9</sub>; in Epidaurus, Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1883, p. 211, l. 2; cf. Et. Mag. 678<sub>44</sub>, *ποῖ παρὰ Ἀργείους*, and Steph. Byzanz. s. v. Ἀλιεῖς; in Boeotian, Ποίδικος, Coll. 553<sub>13</sub>; in the Delphian month Πουτρόπιος, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 219<sub>3</sub>; and finally in Corcyraean, *ποῖ τὸμ*, C. I. G. 1838 a 3, *ποῖ τὰμ*, C. I. G. 1840<sub>17</sub>, though Blass (B. B. XII, 193, 196) writes *πο<τ>*. Arcado-Cyprian *πός* is not formed from \**ποσί<ποτί*, nor does it stand in any conceivable relation to *περτί*, *πορτί*, *προτί*, or *πρός*, as is held by Meister, I, 44, Brand, De dialectis Aeolicis, p. 54. Nor is there any trace of the existence of a pan-Doric or pan-Aeolic \**pṛti*, which has been regarded as the fruitful source of all these various forms. In the Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1885, p. 1604 (cf. Baunack, Inschrift von Gortyn, p. 22, note), Meister adopts the following explanation of the descent of *πός* and *ποῖ*:—



This presupposes the retiring of \**ποσί* in Arcadian after the separation of Cyprian, and the origin of *ποῖ* from \**ποσί*. Only under this supposition could *ποῖ* have become *πό* in *ποεχόμενον*. This explanation is radically defective: first, because \**ποσί*, like the Pelasgians, is there only to be driven away; and secondly, because it ignores the correspondence between *ποῖ* and Lettic *pī*, Lithuanic *pi*. Bechtel (B. B. X, 287) has clearly pointed out that *πός* is for *ποτ + s* (cf. λευκός < -οτ + s), whether *s* was directly affixed to *πότ* or to *ποτί*. Italian dialects fall easily into line with *obs*, *sus*, Oscan *pus*, etc. This explanation is preferable to that of Johansson (Några ord om dialekter, p. 32, note), whereby *πός* = *ποτί* before a vowel; to that of Prellwitz, which compares directly *pos-t*, *pos-sideo*, Lithuanic *pas*; and to the equation of Spitzer, ἐπί: ἐπ:: \**ποσί*: *πός*. As a

<sup>1</sup> *πό* adduced as Locrian (cf. Allen, Curt. Stud., III, 271) is now read *ποτούς*, Coll. 1478<sub>33</sub>, for *πὸτ τοús*.

matter of fact, *ποῖ* is generally used before a consonant, *πότ* before vowels (Baunack, *Studien*, I, 12; Prellwitz, G. G. A. 1887, p. 439).

In Coll. 68 we have *ποτ'*, an inscription which shows the influence of the epic verse, according to Deecke. See, however, Hall, A. O. S. XI, 220. It is possible that a *ποτ(ι)* may be due to an imitation of the epic dialect, which has *ποτί*, but only in composition. I prefer, however, to read *ποτ(ε)* with Allen, *Versification*, p. 150. In the same line we have *πότι*, which is supposed by Spitzer, p. 47, to be the result of an unfortunate attempt to give an epic coloring to the Cyprian *πόσι*. *πότις* for *πόσις* is not Greek, the IE suffix *ti* becoming *σι* generally in Doric, and Homeric *φά-τις μάν-τις* are but indifferent analogues. It cannot be doubtful but that *πόσις* was the genuine Cyprian form, as the dialect shows no little hostility to *τι*; cf. *σίς*, *σί βόλε*, etc.

The preferences of the different dialects may here be given: Aeolic, *πρός* and *πρές* (?); Thessal., *ποτί* and *πότ*; Boeot., *ποτί* and *προτί*; Pamphyl., *περτί*.

NOTE.—The parallelism which has been assumed on account of a supposed genitive in *-ων* in the O declension in both dialects is unwarrantable. In Cyprian, cases of *-ων* are not infrequent (*Ὀναίων*, 21, Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1290; *Νωμηνίων*, ll. 1886, p. 1323; *Θεοτίμων*, 42; *Ἀβιδμήλων*, 59; *πε(μ)φαμέρων*, 59; *Φιλοκύπρων*, 60<sub>1</sub>; *Ὀνασικύπρων*, 60<sub>2-37</sub>, 11, 30; *Ὀνασίλων*, 60<sub>24</sub>; *ἀργύρων*, 60<sub>17</sub>, 25-26; *ταλά(ν)των*, 60<sub>7</sub>; *ὑχέρων*, 60<sub>5</sub>, 15 (not *ὑχέρων* as Deecke); *Δρουμίων* 60<sub>19</sub>). The Arcadian *τωνί*, in agreement with *τῶ ἐπιζαμίω*, 1222<sub>36</sub>, is not *των-ί* (= *τουτουί*), but *των-νί*, *νι* having been taken from *τον-ί(δ)*, *ταν-ίδ*, etc. Cf. *δι* from *τοδ-ί*, *ταν[ν]ί* 1222<sub>53</sub>, and the Thessalian particle *-νε* in *τοῦν-νε-ουν* 345<sub>17</sub> equivalent to Homeric and Aeolic *-δε* in *τοῖς-δε-σσι*, *τῶν-δε-ων*. See Baunack *Studien*, I, pp. 55, 56. The *ν* of the Cyprian genitive singular is as yet unexplained, though perhaps it may be regarded as a relic of this *-νι* or *νε*,<sup>1</sup> which may have attached itself to the pronominal declension in Cyprian; cf. *μέν* for *μέ* in *κά μεν ἔστασαν*, 71,<sup>2</sup> and *μι* in No. I, which may either represent *με* or *μι(ν)*.<sup>3</sup> This suggestion is certainly nearer the truth than that of Ahrens (*Philologus*, 1876, pp. 12-13). Ahrens assumed an older ending *-ως*, which from the analogy of *-μεν -μες*, *αἰθιν αἰθις*, etc., became *-ων*. Another explana-

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this I learn that Bezzenberger has already made the same conjecture (G. G. A., 1887, p. 427). Cf. the change of *-δι* to *-δε* through influence of *δέ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ἐμέν* = *ἐμέ*, Kaibel, 322 (214 A.D.), Sardis, probably a slip. The Tamassus inscription (Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1323) has *τὸν(ν)* according to Sayce, which is adopted by Deecke. The stone has, however, according to Pierides, *το νε*.

<sup>3</sup> *μιν* occurs in 45 according to Voigt and Hall. Read *μι(ν) εὐξάμενος περὶ παιδί τῷ Περσεύτῃ μιν ἔθηκε ἰ(ν) τύχαι*. Certainly no meaning can be extracted for *ῖ* in *ῖ-εὐξάμενος*.

tion — by analogy of the plural *-ων* — has only slight support, the singular generally exercising a controlling influence upon the plural, as *ἡμεῖο* upon *ἡμεῖων*. As regards the explanation from *-νε -νι* suggested above, care must be taken to distinguish this *-ν* from the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, which is entirely absent from Cyprian (see on p. 110), as it is from Aeolic, Thessalian, and<sup>1</sup> Boeotian *non-κοινή* prose inscriptions; in Arcadian it is of extremely rare occurrence.

The points of contact between Arcadian and Cyprian, which are the possession of these two dialects and of none other, are, it is true, but few. Their important character, however, embracing both phonetical and syntactical correspondences justly entitles them to claim a unique position in stamping the relation of these allied dialects. The comparatively isolated position of both dialects, their hostility in these instances to the ingression of Greek forms of another type, have here served to shelter memorials of a prehistoric age.

Extending our range of observation by a gradual widening of our horizon, it will first be necessary to notice two features in which Arcado-Cyprian is in touch with Homeric usage alone.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN AND HOMER.

1. Infinitive termination *-ηναι*. *Arcadian*: *κατυφρονῆναι*, 1222<sup>47</sup>; *ἀπειθῆναι*, 1222<sup>48</sup>.<sup>2</sup> *Cyprian*: *κυμερῆναι*, 68<sup>4</sup>, is preferable to Ahrens' *κυμέρναι*; cf. *δοφεναι*, 60<sup>5, 15</sup>, of uncertain accent. Outside of Arcado-Cyprian this termination occurs in Homer and nowhere else. Fick (*Ilias*, p. 395) refers the Homeric form *φορῆναι* in B 107, H 149, to a Cyprian source. The same form, K 270, rests, according to this scholar, upon imitation of the poem B-H, which he thinks was composed either by a Cyprian bard or for a Cyprian audience (*Ilias*, pp. 258-259, 394). For a brief statement of the grounds of this theory, see A. J. P., Vol. VIII, 479-481.

On the origin of the form, see Spitzer, p. 45, who supposes that *ἀπειθῆναι* is either from *\*ἀπειθημι* or from *\*ἀπειθέγειν* with assimilation to the *-ναι* inf. ending. The treatise of Johansson (*De derivatis verbis contractis*) has put the *-ηναι* forms in a totally different light.

<sup>1</sup> Thessalian seems often to have had recourse to a *ν* which is not *ν ἐφελκ.* e.g. *-ν* in the infinitive *ὀνυγράψειν*, *δεδοσθῆιν*.

<sup>2</sup> *ῆναι* is from *\*ῆσ-ναι*, as *ἡμί* < *ἑσμί*, by combination of Doric *η* and Ionic *-ναι*. See page 94, note 1.

2. *Arcadian*: βολόμενον, 1222<sup>24</sup>. *Cyprian*: σί βόλε· τί θέλεις, Hesychius. Cf. βόλομαι in Homer, *Λ* 319, α 234. The Aeolic βόλομαι, Doric, Pamphylian<sup>1</sup> βώλομαι (Boeot. βωλά), Thessalian βέλειται and Εὐβολίνος, Boeotian βείλομαι, may have a different present stem from that contained in the simpler Arcado-Cyprian form. Thus βολ- may, through βολνο or βολιο, have been the progenitor of βολλ-, etc. The possibility of reduction of the double liquid even in prose cannot, however, be gainsaid. All the above-mentioned dialects, however, agree in having the original β sound before the obscure vowel sound ο, the Locrian, Delphic δείλομαι, the Heracleian δήλομαι, having the dental representation of the palatal g before the clear vowel ε.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN AND AEOLIC.

Strong stem κρετες- for the later and weaker κρατες-. *Arcadian* (in Tegea and Kletor): Αὐτοκρέτ[ης], 1246, D 17; Καλλικρέτης, 1246, B 15 and B 3 (gen.); Σωκρέτης, 1231, C 1; Τιμοκρέτης, 1231, C 50 and -(τε)ος C 23, 1246, C 9; Εὐρυκρέτης, 1231, B 32; Νεοκρέτεος, 1189, A 61 (not Μενο-); Πολυκρέτεια, 1237; Εὐθυκρέτης, Le Bas-Foucart, 338 b<sub>32</sub>. *Cyprian*: Ἀριστοκρέτης, 71; Τιμοκρέτης (?), 121; Τιμοκρέτεος Φιλοκρέτεος, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1886, pp. 1290, 1291; -κρέτης, 148.

κρέτος is called Aeolic by Joh. Gramm. 244; ἐπικρέτει, Alc. 81, by emendation; cf. Alc. 25. κρέτος, according to Buttmann's conjecture in the scholiast on *Vespae*, 1234.

These dialects also possess forms from the base -κρατες-, which, morphologically speaking, is later than -κρετες-. *Arcadian*: Ἀλεξικράτης, 1181, B 29; Ἀριστοκράτει[α], 1238; Ἀριστοκράτης, 1181, A 12; Ἀστυκράτης, 1211<sub>3,5</sub>; Δαμοκράτης, 1249<sub>8</sub>; Δαμοκρατίδας, 1181, A 5; Δεξικράτης, 1231, C 36; Ἐπικράτεος, 1204, -εος, 1204; Εὐκράτης, 1248<sub>4</sub>; Καλλικρατίδας, 1239; Κρατέων, 1240<sub>5</sub>; Νεοκράτη[ς], 1246, D 16; Νι(κο)κράτεος, 1189, A 36; Ξενοκράτεος, 1248<sub>5</sub>; Σωσικράτης, 1231, C 49; Τιμοκράτης, 1181, B 11; [Φ]ιλ[οκ]ράτεος, 1246, B 11. *Cyprian*: Στασικράτης, 17, -εος, 18; Κυπροκράτις, 2. Thessalian and Boeotian have -κρατος, never -κρετος.

Since the weak base -κράτες- appears as early as Homer, it is probable that both forms existed side by side in Arcado-Cyprian, the κράτος type (from nom. κρέτος, gen. \*κῆτέος), not having been able

<sup>1</sup> ἐβωλάσεν, 1267<sub>8</sub>; βωλήμενος, 1267<sub>13</sub>; not βολ-, as is read by Brand De dialectis Aeolicis, p. 22.

to completely displace the other. Other examples of a supposed pan-Aeolic  $\epsilon\rho$  for  $\alpha\rho$  are  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , Aeolic  $\xi\rho\sigma\eta\nu$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ , Arcad.  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , etc. Cf. p. 90.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN AND THESSALIAN.

*Arcadian*:  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  found only in Pausan. VIII. 12. 7:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$  δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις. If this evidence be accepted together with the testimony of the inscriptions, Arcadian had both  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  and  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ . But the epigraphic monuments have only the latter form, which is also Aeolic, Boeotian, Elean, Pamphylian, Doric, and Ionic. *Cyprian*:  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , 60. Cf. Schol.  $\Psi_1$ ,  $\pi\tau\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$ ]  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$ .  $\kappa\nu\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἡ λέξις. *Cyprian* has no case of  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ . *Thessalian*: οἱ  $\tau\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\iota$ , 1330;  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\tau\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\rrho\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 1330<sub>2</sub>; from οἱ  $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda$ -, which is a change of medial, not of initial,  $\pi\tau$  to  $\tau\tau$ ; cf.  $\Lambda\epsilon\tau\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and Brugmann, Grundriss, §§ 333, 654<sub>4</sub>.  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  also occurs in Larissaeon inscriptions.

It is difficult to make this word any dividing line between the dialects without including the other case of  $\pi\tau < \pi +$  parasitic  $\iota$ , i.e.  $\pi\tau\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , which is Homeric, Attic, and Cyprian, according to Heraclides in Eustathius, 842, 62; and  $\pi\tau\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$  occurs on a Cretan inscription, C. I. G. 2554<sub>197</sub>. It seems, therefore, that the other dialects never developed the  $\pi\tau$ - form of these words.

There is no firm link connecting Arcado-Cyprian with Thessalian which does not at the same time serve to connect either Aeolic or Boeotian.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, THESSALIAN.

##### 1. The preposition $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon = \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$ .

*Arcadian*: 1222<sub>3, 4, 13, 35</sub>, etc. *Cyprian*:  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$  τῷ ζῆνι, 60<sub>8, 17</sub>. *Aeolic*: Sappho, 44; C D. I., 213<sub>15</sub>; 238<sub>10</sub>, etc. *Thessalian*: 345<sub>3, 23</sub>, 1308.

2. *Arcadian*:  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  (in conjunction with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ), 1222<sub>2</sub>.<sup>1</sup> *Cyprian*:  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  in ἡ  $\kappa\epsilon$  (= Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ), 60<sub>10, 23</sub>, and in  $\delta\pi\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon$  (=  $\delta\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ), 60<sub>29</sub>. *Cyprian* has  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  alone, never  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  is also *Aeolic* and *Thessalian*;  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  is Aeolic and Homeric alone.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  is the form of this particle in Doric, North Greek, Boeotian, and Elean.

<sup>1</sup> This is disputed by Kirchhoff Mon. Ber. Acad. Berl. 1870, p. 52. Arcadian is the only dialect except the Homeric that possesses both  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . Boeot.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , 488<sub>36</sub>, a document composed in Attic, is  $\kappa\alpha\iota + \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  occurs seventeen times in 1222;  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ , 1227<sub>5</sub>.

NOTE. — The impossibility of explaining  $\eta$  in  $\eta$   $\kappa\epsilon$  as the exact phonetic equivalent of  $\epsilon\iota$  (despite Deecke's statement in B. B. VI. 79, that  $\eta$  in  $\epsilon\eta\pi\omega$  is regularly used for  $\epsilon\iota$ ) has lead G. Meyer, Gramm.,<sup>2</sup> § 113, to regard  $\eta$   $\kappa\epsilon$  as  $\eta(\nu)$   $\kappa\epsilon$  =  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\kappa\epsilon$ . On this supposition, which is apparently adopted by Fick, Odyssee, p. 324, Arcadian and Cyprian would stand on a plane in possessing both  $\eta\nu$  and  $\kappa\epsilon$ . That we are not driven to assume a Cyprian  $\eta\nu$  is, however, clear from the fact that  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  may in reality be different case forms of the stem  $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon/o$ . Baunack, Inschrift von Gortyn, p. 50, suggests that  $\alpha\iota$  is the locative of the feminine  $\sigma\upsilon\bar{\alpha}$ -,  $\eta$  the instrumental, and  $\epsilon\iota$  the locative of  $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon/o$ -. The Heracleian Tables have fifteen cases of  $\alpha\iota$ , one of  $\eta$  (I, 77), and one of  $\epsilon\iota$  (I, 127). The latter may be due to  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$  influence, which is not infrequent in these Tables. Other examples of  $\eta$  are C. I. G. 2483, 2484, where  $\delta\iota\alpha\psi\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\eta$   $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (cf. Ahrens, II, 381), and in the Gortyn inscription, IV, 31,  $\eta$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\kappa'$   $\alpha\pi\omicron\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ; cf. V, 9,  $\eta$   $\kappa'$   $\alpha\pi(\omicron)\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$   $\alpha\eta\eta\rho$   $\eta$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\alpha\iota$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\kappa'$   $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha$ , etc.

This explanation solves the difficulty of the interrelation of  $\eta$  (Cyprian),  $\alpha\iota$  (Homeric, Aeolic, Thessalian, Elean, Doric, and Boeotian  $\eta$ ), and  $\epsilon\iota$  (Ionic, Attic, late Doric, and Arcadian<sup>1</sup>). Cyprian  $\eta$  cannot be either the ancestor or the descendant of  $\alpha\iota$  or of  $\epsilon\iota$ .

## ARCADO-CYPRIAN, BOEOTIAN, THESSALIAN.

### I. Treatment of the preposition $\epsilon\kappa$ $\xi\acute{\epsilon}$ .<sup>2</sup>

*Arcadian*:  $\epsilon\varsigma$ , 1222<sub>49</sub>, before a consonant;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , 1222<sub>49</sub>, and the following forms before a consonant in 1222:  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ , l. 7;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\theta\eta$ , 52;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , 51;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon$ , 40;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\sigma\epsilon\sigma\iota$ , 16;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ , 6, 15, 18, 48;  $\xi\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ , 37.  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}$  occurs in  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$ , 1222<sub>21</sub>;  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}(\acute{\alpha})\kappa\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , 1203<sub>3</sub>;  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\nu$ , 1204; and  $\epsilon\gamma$  in  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 1233<sub>6,7</sub>.<sup>3</sup> *Cyprian*:  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , 32 (Deecke), where  $\xi$  represents  $\sigma\sigma$  ( $e \cdot xe \cdot \rho a \cdot si \cdot ne \cdot$ );  $\xi$  before  $\beta$  is, however, contrary to Greek phonetics, wherefore M. Schmidt transcribes  $\xi\sigma\varsigma\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ .  $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma$   $\tau\omega\iota$   $\phi\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\iota$ , 60<sub>5,6</sub>;  $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma$   $\tau\hat{\alpha}\iota$   $\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\mu\iota$ , 60<sub>6</sub>, etc. Curtius wrote  $\xi\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$ , Kleine Schriften, II, 105. *Boeotian*:  $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma$  before vowels, e.g.  $\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma$ , 571 a 4 App., 713 b 8;  $\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon$  [u], 735 ( $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ , 400 a 4 App., 712<sub>2</sub>;  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ , 497<sub>9</sub>; and frequently elsewhere).  $\epsilon\varsigma$  before consonants in composition, e.g.  $\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\omega\varsigma$  about 25 times; cf.  $\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\eta\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ , 951<sub>2</sub> (but  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}$ , 502<sub>4</sub>;  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  [κον]τα, 502<sub>12</sub>).  $\epsilon\kappa$  is also Boeotian, 383<sub>2</sub>; cf.  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 493<sub>8</sub>. *Thessalian*:  $\epsilon\varsigma$ , 1329, 1 A 15, before a consonant and in composition, as  $\epsilon\varsigma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 345<sub>19</sub>;  $\epsilon\varsigma\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ , 345<sub>20</sub>;  $\epsilon\varsigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$ , 345<sub>42</sub>. Before a

<sup>1</sup> In 1222 and in no other Arcadian inscription.

<sup>2</sup> On this, see Curtius, Zu den Auslautsgesetzen des Griech. Kleine Schriften, II, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Collitz (Verwandschaftsverhältnisse, p. 8) is not strictly correct in referring  $\epsilon\sigma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$  to Arcadian.

vowel we have no case of  $\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$ ; cf.  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 345<sup>17</sup>,<sup>1</sup> and  $\xi\acute{\xi}$ , 326<sub>1</sub>;  $\xi\acute{\xi}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ , 326<sub>4</sub>.  $\epsilon\kappa$  does not appear in any document composed in pure dialect.  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$  in Thessalian and Boeotian is certainly, and in Arcadian and Cyprian probably, due to  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$  influence.  $\epsilon\varsigma$  *cum gen.* before consonants,  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$  before vowels, is also Cretan.

2. Extremely problematical is the assertion of Spitzer (Lautlehre des Arkadischen, p. 23 ff.), that in Arcado-Cyprian final  $\bar{\alpha}\iota$ ,  $\eta\iota$ ,  $\omega\iota$  became  $\bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ , and that, while the other dialects accepted this change at a comparatively late date, Thessalian and Boeotian suffered the same loss of the final  $\iota$  at a period when Cyprian had not been differentiated from Arcadian.

The grounds for this hypothesis are as follows: In Thessalian and Boeotian  $\epsilon\iota$  from  $\eta\iota$  arose, not from the loss of one mora of the  $\bar{\epsilon}$  sound, but through  $\eta$ . It will, however, be noticed that  $\epsilon\iota$  may have come from  $\eta\iota$  at a time when  $\epsilon\iota$  had already become  $\bar{\iota}$ .  $\omicron\nu$  from  $\omega\iota$  in Thessalian and in Boeotian arose from  $\omega$ , and not from  $\omicron\iota$ .  $\omicron\iota$  is then, according to Spitzer, a pure locative, and had nothing to do with  $\omega\iota$  originally.

Now, as to the facts in Arcadian and Cyprian, Spitzer asserts that both dialects possessed the dative  $\omega\iota$  and the locative  $\omicron\iota$ . In Arcadian we have no example whatsoever of  $-\omega\iota$ ,  $-\omicron\iota$  occurring in  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron$ [ι, 1200 = Roberts, 277;  $\eta\acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>25</sub>;  $\alpha\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>12</sub>, 1233<sub>2,6</sub>;  $\xi\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>3,49,54</sub>.  $-\omicron\iota$  is the form which has either partially or entirely displaced the dative  $-\omega\iota$  in Arcadian, North Greek, Boeotian,<sup>2</sup> late Elean, and Eretrian. In Cyprian we find  $-\omega\iota$ ,  $-\omega$ , and  $-\omicron\iota$ , according to Deecke. (1)  $-\omega\iota$ :  $\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\iota$  60<sub>6</sub>;  $\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\theta\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota$  (?), 129, 130;  $\mu\omicron\sigma\alpha\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\iota$ , 126;  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\iota$ , 60<sub>14</sub>;  $\text{'}\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\iota$  five times in 60;  $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$  fifteen times in all;  $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\delta\epsilon$ , 60<sub>11,24</sub>;  $\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ , 37, 61, 66(?), 75(?);  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ , 37;  $\eta\acute{\rho}\omega\iota$ , 41, 96(?);  $\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\omega\iota$  or  $-\omicron\acute{\iota}$ , 59<sub>8</sub>. (2)  $-\omega$ :  $\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\omega$ , 41;  $\text{Μαγ}\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ , 120;  $\tau\acute{\omega}$  about sixteen times. (3)  $-\omicron\iota$ :  $\mu\nu\chi\omicron\iota$ , 85, is doubtful, according to Deecke (Hall has  $\mu\nu\chi\omicron\iota\alpha$ );  $\text{Πα}\phi\omicron\iota$ , 56 (Hall,  $\text{Πά}\phi\omicron\iota$ , voc.);  $\text{'}\text{Η}\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ , 62.

To maintain his theory, Spitzer demands that every case of  $-\omega\iota$  should be expelled; and Cauer, in the *Wochens. für kl. Philologie*, 1884, p. 99, asserts the correctness of  $-\omicron\iota$  over against Deecke's  $-\omega\iota$ .<sup>3</sup> But even Ahrens (*Philologus*, XXXV, 13) upholds the datives in  $-\omega\iota$  and  $-\omega$  parallel to the locatives in  $-\omicron\iota$ . The burden of proof rests

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps influenced by  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  of Philip's letter in  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ , which immediately precedes.

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to agree to Brand's assumption that before the separation of the various "Aeolic" tribes, the locative was used for the dative.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Delectus*<sup>2</sup> (1883) he wrote  $\varphi$ .



clearly on the shoulders of those who maintain that both old case forms do not exist contemporaneously in Cyprian; nor should the loss of *-αι* in Arcadian prejudice the case against its occurrence in Cyprian.

As regards *η* both dialects are in agreement. The final vowel is lost, the *η* never shortened. *Arcadian* has, in 1222, *τυγχάνη*, *ἔχη*, and *ποσκατυβλάψη*. *Cyprian* has *συλήση*, 126; *Ἀδη*, 126; *δρύξη*, 60<sub>12, 24, 25</sub>; *λύση*, 60<sub>20</sub>. The only case of *η* is *Υφη*, 124, which is not very certain. The age of all these inscriptions is such that any theory as to the loss of final *ι* from *η* in Arcado-Cyprian times builds upon a perilous foundation. The age of Alexander the Great witnessed the breaking down of the *ι* *ἀνεκφώνητον*.

Finally as to *αι*: Spitzer claims that Arcadian *αι* is not *āi* (either from *ā + αι*, *i.e.* dative, or from *ā + ι*, *i.e.* locative), but is from analogy to *οι*, and is the representative of the locative; while *ā* is from *āi*, and represents the dative. The latter form was, however, lost. In Cyprian, on the other hand, *ā* may be the representative of the old dative (*ā + αι*) or of the old locative (*ā + ι*). Cyprian *αι* is of the same origin as Arcadian *αι*. According to the common transcription we read in Arcadian *τᾱι*, 1222<sub>34</sub>, as a relative, 1222<sub>41</sub>; in Cyprian, *ἀρούραι*, 60<sub>20</sub>; *μάχαι*, 60<sub>3</sub>; *ἀζαθαῖ*, 3 f.; *τᾱι* eleven times, *τᾱιδε*, 60<sub>14</sub>; *τᾱ* at least four times. As the form stands, *τᾱι* may be a pure dative, *>ā + αι*; cf. Mahlow, *Die Langen Vocale*, A. E. O., p. 53. Or the *αι* may be a locative, if pan-Hellenic *āi > ā + ι* became *āi*. Upon the question whether *ā + ι* became pan-Hellenic *āi* or pan-Hellenic *āi*, and whether *-αι* is from analogy to *-οι* or is an I.E. case-ending<sup>1</sup> with atonic *α*, as in *νύμφᾱ*, depends the character of the Arcado-Cyprian forms. It is not possible, from the limited material at our command, to determine whether Arcado-Cyprian *αι* is *āi* or *āi*.<sup>2</sup>

In view, however, of the uncertainty attendant upon this problem, and of the possibility that Thessalian and Boeotian *ει* and *ου* may not be authoritative for the period of the coexistence of Arcadian and Cyprian, it is advisable at present to leave the question to a more thoroughgoing investigation.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, THESSALIAN, BOEOTIAN.

There is no single morphological or phonetic feature shared in alike by each and all of these dialects to the exclusion of

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Gramm.*, § 82.

<sup>2</sup> Brand, *De dialectis Aeolicis*, p. 47, holds that *āi* is the Arcadian form.

all others. Nor is there any dialectic peculiarity of authoritative certainty connecting them all together by the operation of one and the same law.

1. Not beyond peradventure is the assumption that the older pronunciation of *v* as I.E. *u*, and not as *ü* (introduced in Asiatic Ionic and Attic not before the fifth century?), survived in these dialects as well as in Pamphylian, in Chalcidian, and in the Laconian vulgar dialect.<sup>1</sup> M. Schmidt (in K. Z., IX, 366), Ahrens (in Philologus, XXXV, 8-9), Blass (Aussprache,<sup>2</sup> 35), have assumed the *u* pronunciation for Cyprus. Fick (Ilias, p. 256) claims on the strength of Ἀμόντας (Coll. 147) and the Hesychian glosses quoted, p. 76, that the Cyprian *v* had a leaning towards *o*, i.e. the closed *o*, which makes against the *ü* sound. This means of representing the *v* sound is found in Boeotian (Ἀμόντας, 603; ὑπερδικιόνθω, 429<sub>s</sub>), late Laconian (κονοσυρέων, C. I. G. 1347<sub>9</sub>, for κυνοσουρέων), dialects which had the *u* sound.<sup>2</sup> For Aeolic, cf. Priscian I, 27. Spitzer, p. 18, claims that this was the Arcadian as well as the Cyprian pronunciation. The relation of *v* to *o* is, however, the sole basis for this assertion, as it is in the case of Aeolic.<sup>3</sup> The Boeotian pronunciation is certain from the use of *ou* for *v* (at first for *v̄*, later for *ü*). Thessalian *ou* for *o* seems to point to *ü*, Νυμεινίοι, 345<sub>25</sub> > νεφομήν(ν)ιος being but an indifferent foundation for Prellwitz's attempt (de dialecto Thessalica, p. 13) to overthrow the conclusions of Blass, Aussprache,<sup>2</sup> p. 36, which are supported by Cauer, Wochens. für kl. Philologie, 1886, No. 33.<sup>4</sup>

This supposed connecting link between Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, Thessalian, and Boeotian, has been referred to here, since much has been made of it, especially by Curtius, Kleine Schriften, II, 160-162, as a means of demonstrating the original close relationship between all these dialects. As a matter of fact, even if in all these dialects *v* was pronounced *u*, nothing would be proved thereby as to their inter-

<sup>1</sup> The literary monuments and inscriptions of Sparta have no trace of *ou* for *v*, hence Blass assumes that the pronunciation of the cultivated classes may have been *ü*. Other traces of *u* are Corinthian Φυλοίδας, Roehl, 20<sub>47</sub>, and Chalcidian Φύφνος, C. I. G. 7611.

<sup>2</sup> Ὀλομπος, C. I. G. 8412, an apparently Ionic inscription, and Cretan Πότιος, Rangabé, 2478, I, 23, are doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz (Hom. Untersuch. 288) maintains that the pronunciation as *u* was retained till the time of Pindar, and that Aeolic, Cyprian, and Eubæan Ionic (in the modern Kuma and Stura) had the old *u*.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, Grundriss, § 48, excludes Thessalian from the list.

connection, since they would have only preserved for a longer period than other dialects a common heirloom such as *ā*, *ɸ*, etc. Only if it can be shown on other cogent grounds that Lesbians, Thessalians, Boeotians, and Arcado-Cyprians were once united as a distinct tribe or ethnic unit, is this assumed retention of the I.E. sound *u* to be regarded in the light of corroborative evidence.

## 2. Change of *o* to *u*.

Closely connected with the retention of I.E. *u*, is the change of *o* to *u*, which is heralded as one of the most salient features distinguishing alike all these dialects.

*Arcadian*: ἀπύ six times in 1222, both separately and in composition; ἄλλυ, 1222<sub>38</sub> (cf. δεῦρυ, Herodian II, 933<sub>9</sub>, but δεῦρο, Sappho, 84); κατύ < \*κατό, as a direct change of *a* to *u*, is impossible.<sup>1</sup> κατό is from analogy to ἀπό: cf. Elean ὑπαδυγίοις from analogy to μετά, etc. κατύ occurs alone 1222<sub>11, 29</sub>, and in composition ποσκατυβλάψη, 1222<sub>38</sub>; κατυστάση, 1222<sub>43</sub>; κατυφρονῆναι, 1222<sub>47</sub>. It is so far attested in Tegean alone. Finally, -āo becomes -av (or -āv) in the genitive.

*Cyprian*: εἰφρητάσατυ, 60<sub>4</sub>; ἐφρητάσατυ, 60<sub>14</sub>; γένοιτυ, 60<sub>29</sub>; ὥρισετο, 126;<sup>2</sup> ὕν- for ὄν = ἀνά in ὕνέθηκε, 45; but only if we adopt Deecke's reading in preference to that of Voigt and Hall (μυν ἔθηκε), which to my thinking is superior. ὀνέθηκε occurs about six times, and ἀνέθηκε twice. Finally, in -av < -āo as in Arcadian. The manifest fondness for *u* of Cyprian is supposed to be attested furthermore by the Hesychian glosses in which *u* is held to have passed into *o*: μοχοῖ· ἐντός (in No. 85 Deecke reads μυχοῖ; Hall, μυχοῖα); ἱνκαφότευσε· ἐγκαταφύντευσε; θόρανδης· τὸ ξέω. But other dialects made use of *o* instead of *ou* to represent the I.E. *ū* sound, e.g. Boeotian,<sup>3</sup> late-Laconian. Cf. also ὀγρός in Syra, θομός (for *ū*) in Crete.

*Pamphylian*: ἐβωλάσεται, ὕ βωλήμενς, Ἐστρεῖδης, Ὑδραμόαν, Ηυαρῦ. The Pamphylian examples can scarcely be due to Doric influence in view of the vicinity of Cyprus.

*Aeolic*: ἀπύ, 213<sub>15</sub>, 214<sub>45</sub>, 238<sub>10</sub>, 250<sub>14</sub>, 232<sub>5</sub>, 248<sub>8, 9</sub>, 311<sub>24, 29</sub> (the only epigraphic examples of the change), Sappho, 44, 78. The κοινή ἀπό appears, e.g. 281<sub>a 22, 34, 36</sub>; ὑμοίως, 271<sub>a 6</sub>; ὕσδος, Sappho, 4

<sup>1</sup> Aeolic σῦρκες (gramm.) is but an apparent exception; < \*σῶρκες?

<sup>2</sup> Spitzer claims (p. 17) that the Arcadian forms were -τυ and -ντυ. This is by no means certain, though we have no example of -το or of -ντο.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀμόντας, 603, as in Cyprian Ἀμό(ν)τα, 147. Fick, Ilias, p. 256, ventures to explain Κοπρήος, O 639 as due to the Cyprian *o* for *u*.

(perhaps) ; ἰμάρτη, στίμα, ἔμοιος, ἰμάλικες, Theocritus. All other examples are doubtful.

*Thessalian* : ἀπύ, 345<sup>3, 23</sup>.

*Boeotian* : Δέρμυι, Δέρμυς, 875, Δαμόθοινυς, 689, are quoted by Pezzi (La Grecità, etc., p. 260), as possible examples of the substitution of *v* for *o* before 403 B.C. The latter example is now read by Meister, -θοιν[ο]ς or -θοιν[ι]ς. Boeotian is confessedly the weakest member of the group, but Herculean efforts have been made to wheel into line this, according to Boeckh, the oldest of the "Aeolic" dialects : —

ἀπό is explained as being practically equivalent to ἀπύ or ἀπού ; and Διουκλείς, Νιουμών, [©]ιουτίμν, are cited as having ου = *v* = *o*. On the other hand, *o* stands for *v* in ὀπερδικιόνθω, 429 ; cf. σύπερδικιόνθω, 430.

ἀπύ is certainly a striking joint possession of Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, and Thessalian. Boeotian, Elean,<sup>1</sup> and Pamphylian, alone stand out against a pan-Aeolic ἀπύ, which is the only word that even the most determined advocate of the prehistoric interconnection of these dialects can claim as pan-Aeolic.

If *non res ipsa sed frequentia exemplorum* as regards *v* for *o* be held to be a peculiarity of "Aeolic," it cannot be denied that at least four of the above dialects show a tendency which on any fair view must be held to date so far back as to point to some sort of closer connection. In Ionic examples of *v* for *o* are rare ; but in Doric they are more numerous, though at best sporadic. Cf. G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup>, § 62.

It is pretty clear that of the two short *o* sounds, one became closed at a very early period in Greek. The second *o* of ὄνομα must have suffered this change to a partial extent before the separation into dialects. In other words, the closing of the open *o* came later, but certainly in Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, Thessalian, and perhaps Boeotian, at a period before a similar tendency came into existence in Doric and Ionic.

NOTE 1. — Cyprian Πρυτίτω, 149, is perhaps connected with πρό as πρό-*τα*νις and possibly πρόμνα and πρυλέες. The Aeolic form is, however, πρότανις.

NOTE 2. — It is singular that in a dialect with so pronounced a predilection for *v* as the Arcadian we should nevertheless have ὄνομα. In Arcado-Cyprian the substitution of *v* seems to be confined to the final syllable of words having more than one syllable. An A-C ὄν = ἀνά is therefore very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> Roehl, 556, has ὕνεθηκε. G. Meyer suggests that the inscription is Laconian rather than Elean. But neither Laconian nor Elean has any example of the "darkening" of *o*.

There is no link between Arcado-Cyprian and Boeotian which does not at the same time serve to connect Arcado-Cyprian and Thessalian or Aeolic.

The vigorous preferences of Arcado-Cyprian for the dialects of the Aeolic type alone having thus been disposed of, it is now imperative to again widen our circle of observation. The keener our hunt after traces of kinship between Arcado-Cyprian and other dialects, the more urgent is the necessity of beholding its ever-enlarging sympathies. Nor is this necessity obviated by our feeling that, in proportion as we enlarge these dialectal circles, the phenomena in question lose in authoritativeness. In estimating the propensions of a dialect, the course of investigation shows that a slight touch is oftentimes more indicative of genuine or, it may be, of original sympathies than rude masses of color. A qualitative, not a quantitative, standard can be of value here. The circles in question grow in extent till the last embraces those phenomena which are obviously, if not actually, pan-Hellenic. As before hinted at, it is here that it is oftentimes difficult to determine whether we are dealing with a pre-dialectal survival of Hellenic speech, or with a formation that is merely incidental to an early innovatory stage of the period of actual dialectal existence.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN AND IONIC.

The infinitive termination *-vai* referred to above, p. 69.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, IONIC.

$\tau\iota = \sigma\iota$  in the terminations of the verb (*-ovti*, *-ovti*) are treated differently as regards the preceding vowel, but all agree in the assibilation. On Cyprian *ἰω(ν)σι* or *ἰωσι*, see p. 66. Doric, *-ovti*, *-ovti*.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, DORIC, IONIC.

Nominative in *-ης* from *η* stems. The *η* declension parallel to that in *ā* has survived in a few sporadic examples in Greek. Its existence in Latin, in the so-called fifth declension, substantiates the belief that in Greek it antedates the separation into dialects.

*Arcadian*: *ιερής*, 1231, B 34, C 1, 29, 50; *ιαρής*, 1235; *γραφής*, 1230<sub>7</sub>, 1236. *Cyprian*: *ιγερής*, 33, is the only example, the common form in *εως* being found in No. 40. *βασιλεύς* is frequent in Cyprian, and there is no example of *βασιλής*. Arcadian has neither form. Outside of Arcado-Cyprian the *η* inflection has generally been displaced by that in *ην*, as in Aeolic. The following examples, however, occur: Homer, *\*Αρην*; Archilochus, 48, *\*Αρεω* < *\*Αρηο*; cf. *\*Αντιφάτην*, ο 242, by the side of *\*Αντιφατῆα*, κ 114. Ionic *ιέρω*, Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, A 23; Tomoi, Arch-epigr. Mitth. VI, 8, No. 14.<sup>1</sup> Doric *Τῖδης*, *\*Ορφης*, *Φύλης*; cf. Lat. *Ulixes Achilles*. G. Meyer is incorrect when he attempts to explain *ιερής* for *ιερέυς* from analogy to *εὐγενής*, since the genitive of *ιερην-* is in its oldest form *ιερῆφος*, to which *εὐγενέος* offers no parallel. Cf. G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup>, §§ 323, 324; Bechtel, Inschrift aus Eresos, in the Göttingen Nachrichten for June 30, 1886; Spitzer, Lautlehre des Arkad. p. 27; Johansson, De verbis derivatis contractis, p. 74. The Boeotian forms in *-ει = η* (*Εἰρωῖλλαι*, *Μέννει*, *Φύλλαι*, etc.) are doubtful. It was suggested by me (Der Diphthong EI, p. 41) that they were survivals of the *η* declension, an explanation adopted by Bechtel, p. 378. Others regard them as having lost the final sibilant of the nominative. Meister, I, 272; but cf. also p. 310.

#### ARCAIDO-CYPRIAN AND DORIC.

*η*, not *ει* (*ē*), is the result of compensatory lengthening. Arcadian *ῆναι*, *φθήρων*; Cyprian *ἦμι*. The dialects diverge in the treatment of *ονς*. But there is no example of *ον* (closed *ō*) for *ω* (*i.e.* open *ō*) of other dialects.

There is as yet no authority for an Arcado-Cyprian contraction of *α + ε* to *η*, as in Doric, Elean, and North Greek. See p. 81.

Spitzer's ascription to Arcado-Cyprian (p. 57) of the personal ending *-ες* in the indic. present, is based upon no foundation save that, as the Cyprian form is old, it might well have been a survival of an Arcado-Cyprian period. But a solitary instance is found: *ἐς πόθ' ἔρπες· πόθεν ἦκεις*. Πάφιοι. With this compare the Theocritean *συρίσδες*, I. 3, which is certain, and *ἀμέλγες*, IV. 3. This form occurs on no Doric inscription. Whether the form in *-ς* is pro-ethnic (cf. Latin *legis*; old Irish, *do-beir*, *\*-beres*), or merely a Greek parallel to *τίθης*, has not yet been made out.

<sup>1</sup> The nom. *ιέρως*, Rev. Arch. XXVIII, 106, from *λεώς*; *λεώ* = *ιέρω*.

It is not improbable that the Arcado-Cyprian infinitive of  $-\omega$  verbs ended in  $-\nu$ ; e.g. Arcad. ἰμφαίνεν (or ἰμφαῖνεν), Cypr. ἔχεν. As Deecke reads ἔχην in the single passage where any such formation occurs, the assumed parallelism between Arcadian and Cyprian must be left in dispute. Johansson, *De verbis derivatis contractis*, p. 202, accepts an Arcado-Cyprian ἔχεν, comparable to Doric κρίνεν, and to an Ionic ὀφείλεν (Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 527). See p. 96.

ἰν for ἐν,<sup>1</sup> formerly held to be a distinctive peculiarity of Arcado-Cyprian, has now appeared upon a Cretan inscription. See Merriam, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* III, 312. ἰγνύη was regarded by Curtius as standing for ἐγ-γνύα. ἐν, *cum accus.* and *cum dat.*, is a relic of the period when this preposition was construed as the German *in*.<sup>2</sup> The Aeolic εἰς and Ionic εἰς (εἰς) gradually drove out this double construction. If the Aeolians of Lesbos ever used εἰς *cum genet.*, its obsolescence must have been caused by the adoption of the Ionic εἰς, and have been subsequent to the period when ἐν *cum accus.* was replaced by εἰς *cum accus.*

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, DORIC, AEOLIC, AND CONNECTED DIALECTS.

1. Genitive plural,  $\hat{A}$  declension. *Arcad.* Ἀλεατᾶν, ἐργωνᾶν, Τεγεατᾶν. *Cypr.* ἐπαγομενᾶν. Here Homeric, Boeotian  $-\alpha\omega\nu$ , Thesalian  $-\alpha\omicron\nu\nu$ , alone show the older form.

2. Genitive sing., O declension. *Arcad.* τῶ, *Cypr.* θεῶ.  $-\omicron\omicron$  must then have been open sounds at the period of contraction. On  $-\omega$ ,  $-\nu$ , see pp. 68, 118.  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  from epic reminiscence in Arcad., Roberts, No. 280.

3. The relative use of demonstratives. In *Arcadian* ὅπερ is used for ὅσπερ in 1222<sub>38</sub>: ἔστω δὲ καὶ τῶνι τῶ ἐπιζαμῷ ὁ αὐτὸς ἰγνυὸς ὅπερ | καὶ τῶ ἔργῳ ᾗς ἰν ἔσταισιν. With this compare the Homeric ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων (VII, 114, XXI, 107), and the use of οὔτις, III, 279.

<sup>1</sup> ἰν > ἐν originally before consonants. ἐ for ἐ(ν) is found, Roberts, No. 277, according to the generally received reading. προσθαρε must be read πρόσθα[δ]έ. I cannot subscribe to Robert's defence of ἐ(μ) Μαντινέαι; cf. Allen, *Versification*, p. 150. Cyprian has no instance of ἐν, and the Arcadian cases are not unimpeachable. ἐν in 1200 is poetical; in 1231 it is the work of a meddler with the original text; 1183 is probably Arcadian, though peculiar in many ways; No. 1233, a proxy decree, distinguishes ἐν from ἰν.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ἰς > ἰνς and ἰς *cum accus.* in Oaxos. Merriam l. l. In Gortyna ἐς *cum gen.* and *accus.*

In *Cyprian*,  $\delta$  for  $\delta\varsigma$  in 60<sub>12</sub>:  $\eta$  κέ σις Ὀνάσιλον ἐξ ὀρύξῃ, ἰδέ παι,  $\delta$  ἐξ ὀρύξῃ, πείσει Ὀνασίλῳ; and also 60<sub>25</sub>. Arcadian has no example of  $\delta$  alone used for  $\delta\varsigma$ .  $\delta\tau\iota\upsilon$ , 1222<sub>27</sub>, is the masculine form from  $\delta\tau\iota\varsigma$ .  $\tau\acute{o}$  is used as a relative, 1222<sub>14, 35</sub>;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in *Cyprian*, 68<sub>4</sub>. This breaking down of the old demonstrative force is found outside of Homer and these dialects, in Ionic (Herodotus), in the Attic poets, perhaps in the language of the common people of Attica (cf. C. I. A. II, 611<sub>11</sub>), in Doric, Elean, Aeolic, Thessalian, Boeotian, etc.

4. The participle of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$ . *Arcad.*:  $\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 1222<sub>11</sub>. *Cypr.*:  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron(\nu)\tau\alpha$ , 60<sub>9, 19</sub>;  $\iota\acute{\omicron}(\nu)\tau\alpha$ , 60<sub>28</sub>.  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$  is pan-Hellenic (Attic  $\acute{\omega}\nu$ ). Aeolic has both  $\epsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  (Sappho 75 and on inscriptions) and  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$  (Sappho 75). Doric  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ , Ahrens, II, 323.

5. Apocope of prepositions. *Arcad.*:  $\pi\grave{\alpha}\rho$  τάν, 1222<sub>40</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau$  in  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ , 1222<sub>43, 50</sub>. *Cypr.*:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$  ·  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron$  Πάφιοι. Pamph.  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\delta\upsilon$ , 1267<sub>13</sub>. Aeolic  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ . Boeot.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\acute{o}\nu$  ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in late inscriptions). Thess.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ . Heracleian  $\pi\grave{\alpha}\rho$  Πανδοσίαν, I, 58. Cretan  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , C. I. G. 3050<sub>21</sub>. Delphic  $\kappa\alpha\tau$  τάν and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 204<sub>41</sub> and 11. Elean  $\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron$ .

6.  $\eta\varsigma$  third sing. imperfect:  $<\eta\sigma + \tau$ . *Arcad.*: 1222<sub>37</sub>. *Cypr.*:  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$   $\eta\varsigma$ , Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1884, p. 671. Corcyraean, I. G. A. 342<sub>3</sub>. Sicilian (Epicharmus 73, Ahrens), Doric (Alcman in the Mss. frag. 24), Aeolic (in Theocritus, XXX, 16); cf. Boeot.  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , 500<sub>7</sub>.  $\eta\nu$ , whatever may be its origin, is certainly a later form.

7.  $\eta$ , by contraction of  $\epsilon + \epsilon$  in the augment, after the expulsion of  $\sigma$ ,  $\varsigma$ , or  $yod$ . Herein Doric, Arcado-Cyprian, and Aeolic, etc., are alike. Other vowel contractions are alike the possession of Arcado-Cyprian and of other dialects. *E.g.*: —

$\check{a} + \omega = \omega$ ,  $\check{a} + \omicron = \bar{a}$  in all dialects except Ionic and in later North Greek.  $\bar{a} + \omicron$ ,  $\omega = \bar{a}$ , except in Attic-Ionic.<sup>1</sup>  $\check{a} + \epsilon = \eta$  in Arcado-Cyprian probably,<sup>2</sup> in Doric, North Greek, and in Elean (?);  $= \bar{a}$  in Aeolic, Boeotian, and Ionic. Johansson, De verbis derivatis contractis, p. 58, is doubtful about the Arcado-Cyprian contraction of  $\alpha + \epsilon$ . He, however, suggests  $\eta$ .  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  from  $-\epsilon\omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (nom.  $-\eta\varsigma$ ) remains open in both dialects, and in Cyprian does not become  $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . See p. 109.

8.  $\epsilon$  for  $\alpha$  in  $\epsilon\rho\omicron-$ . *Arcad.*:  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ , 1222<sub>28</sub>;  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ , 1231, C 13, etc.; with  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  in 1235. *Cypr.*:  $\epsilon\rho\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , 38<sub>1</sub>;  $\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\phi\acute{\varsigma}$ , 33;  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\upsilon\alpha\nu$ , 60<sub>20</sub>, etc.  $\epsilon\rho\omicron-$  obtains also in North Greek, Doric (Cretan, Laconian), Thessalian, Boeotian, Ionic-Attic, Homeric. The Aeolic  $\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$

<sup>1</sup> In Boeotian when  $\bar{a} + \omega$  contract,  $\bar{a}$  is the result, e.g.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , otherwise  $-\alpha\omega\nu$ .

<sup>2</sup> But cf. Cyprian  $\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha$ .



is either the descendant of *ἱερός* or of *\*ἰσρός* < *ισῖρός*. The older form with *α* (cf. *ishirá*) is Arcadian,<sup>1</sup> Boeotian, Thessalian, Laconian, Heraclian, Messenian, Corcyraean, Cretan, and Theraean. Not only can we not hold with Brand, *De dialectis Aeolicis*, p. 14, that the *α* form is Doric solely, but we are even driven to admit that these words, which have long been held to be a criterion of dialect differentiation, are not entitled to this position from the early and wide-spread appearance of the form with *ε*. All necessity of assuming a "pan-Aeolic" *ἱερός* and a "pan-Doric" *ἰαρός*, crossing in the various sub-dialects, is obviated by the easy supposition that in the pre-dialectal stage of Greek both forms existed side by side.

9. Vocalization of *ɸ*, as in *Arcad.* Φαῖδας, 1246, C 17; Φαῦλλω, 1246, A 15;<sup>2</sup> cf. φαύεα καλά in Homer, as Hartel correctly reads. Cf. *Cypr.* ὕεσις, ναυ- in Ναυφάμω, Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1291, and in ναύαρχος, if Deecke and not Voigt is right. *Cypr.* ναυ[άρχω], 160 (cf. 157), a title which is doubted by Voigt, B. B. IX, 171. νᾶον in No. 41. Other examples of the vocalized labial spirant are Boeot. Ἀρχεανίδας, Coll. 413<sub>10</sub> (a Pellenian); ὑπειγαλέον· διερρωγός; Σανγένης, 914, IV, A;<sup>3</sup> Thessal. Ἐρμαῖον, 1300; Laconian Λαναγήτα, C. I. G. 1466; Aeolic, ναῦος, φανόφοροι (gramm.); Pamphyl. φάβος = φάος, Heraclides; εὔιδε (Balbilla), etc. Deecke reads ὑνεξάμενος, 45, the *υ* of which Deecke and Ahrens compare with ἐπί. G. Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, § 239, seems to regard *υ* as having some connection with vocalized *ɸ*. Cf. Baunack's *Studien*, I, p. 16, 17, where ὑνεξάμενος is read, and the explanation from I.E. *ud* offered. Quantitatively considered, the examples of *υ* > *ɸ* are more frequent in the Aeolic than in the dialects connected with Aeolic, and more frequent in the latter than in Doric or Ionic.<sup>4</sup> Curtius holds that *υ* > *ɸ* is a proof of the connection of Cyprian with Thessalian and Boeotian (Kleine Schrif-

<sup>1</sup> Since *ἱαρός* occurs in 1235 alone, — an inscription in North Greek, — an Arcadian *ἱαρός* is uncertain. Bechtel remarks that this inscription is wholly North Greek, with the exception of *ἱαρός*. But this may point to a North Greek -ης for -εως; cf. above, p. 79. *ἱερ-* occurs about thirteen times in Arcadian. *ἱαρ-* in Cyprian is doubtful, according to Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, § 94. But cf. γορά, Hall *ἱαρά*, 72; Ἱαρό(ν)δαν, 118; Ἱαρώτατος, 41. The last example, at least, is not a matter of dubitation.

<sup>2</sup> Cyprian here, Φαφέω, 133.

<sup>3</sup> The *σαν-* forms belong here only in case the explanation from *ao* be rejected; cf. page 65. Fuhrer and Spitzer agree in abandoning the explanation of G. Meyer, § 120 (from *ao*). But Attic Λαυδικεύς speaks in favor of G. Meyer.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tudeer, *De digamma testimonia*, 68.

ten, II, 156) ; that this is too narrow a view is shown by the Doric *Λαναγήτα*.

10. Aeolic, Elean, Laconian, etc., may, together with Arcado-Cyprian, have preserved an open  $\bar{e}$  whose length, *e.g.* in contractions, appears as  $\bar{e}$  ( $\eta$ ). The short  $e$  sound may have become closed at a very early period, as in the North Greek dialects (generally) in Thesalian, Boeotian, and Ionic. Again in the preservation of the open  $\bar{o}$  in its lengthened sound ( $\omega$  = Ionic  $\omicron\upsilon$ ) these dialects agree. Boeotian here sides with Arcadian (but not in the accus. pl. < $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ >) and with Cyprian (gen. - $\omega$ ). Thessalian at an early date adopted the closed sound of the lengthened  $o$ .

11. *Arcad.* *Τηλίμαχος*, *Cypr.* *Τηλεφάνω*. Cf. Boeot. *Πειλεστροτιδᾶς* (but also *Τειλεφάνειος*), Aeolic *πήλυι*, Delphic *Πηλεκλέας*. But there is no proof that the form with  $\tau$  might not be Aeolic, as we have Aeolic *πέντε* as well as *πέμπων*. It is doubtless as much a matter of chance that we have no case of  $\pi$  followed by a dark vowel, which was the source of the later analogue *πήλυι*, as it is that *τηλ-* does not appear in Aeolic.

#### ARCADO-CYPRIAN, DORIC, AEOLIC, IONIC.

Loss of intervocalic  $i$ : *Arcad.* *ποέντω*, 1222<sub>9</sub>; *Cypr.* *Ἀθάνα* (dat.), 62, through *Ἀθαναία*, which is Arcadian (1202), and *Ἀθάναια* (Alcaeus, 9); Cretan *ὕγιᾶ*; Locr. *ἀδελφεός*; Aeolic *Ὑμήναον*; Thess. *Γεννάοι*; Boeot. *Πλαταεῖος*; Elean *ἔα*, *συνέαν*; Ionic *κέεται*.

*πέντε* is the pan-Hellenic. Aeolic *πέμπε* does not exist despite the assertion of the grammarians. See below, p. 106.

#### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ARCADIAN AND CYPRIAN.

We have now exhausted the cases of agreement between Arcadian and Cyprian, and turn to a registration of their actual differences.

In order to present at a glance the dialect affinities of Arcadian and of Cyprian, in the following sections the differences between the two dialects will be so arranged as to give contributory evidence from all the other dialects with which either Arcadian or Cyprian may be in correspondence. Whenever an example of the phonetic law in question is found in either dialect, but as yet absent from the other, care has been taken to notice the fact.

## I. ARCADIAN AND AEOLIC.

1. *o* for *α*.

δεκάταν, 1198; cf. Balbilla δεκότω (dat.), 323<sub>5</sub>. The Aeolic inscriptions have δέκατος twice (as in Boeotian), once in an inscription dating from 16 B.C., once in one in the period between 2 B.C. and 14 A.D. Little can therefore be determined by epigraphic evidence whether or not that stadium of the dialect which was imitated by the court poetess of Hadrian had already assimilated the final syllables of δέκατος to -κοντα, producing δέκοτος. Cf. Ionic-Attic, Aeolic εἰκοσι from -κοστος. The analogy can scarcely have been felt to be operative in the time of Balbilla. It is certainly remarkable if the mere desire on her part to tinge her poems with an archaic flavor had resulted in the creation of form which actually appears in a dialect in many particulars akin to Aeolic.

There is no instance in the numerals of *o* for *α* in Cyprian. Despite δεκάταν, Arcadian holds with Boeotian *α* in -κασιοι (Boeot. -κατιοι).

NOTE.—On *o* for *α* in Arcad. Ἐκοτόμβοια, see p. 105.

2. Refusal to weaken *ε* to *ι* before vowels.

The Aeolic cases, except perhaps the gen. γλῦκιος, are all capable of another explanation. A ground form χρυσε-ιος with accent on the ultimate (cf. ἀφ(ε)νειός) may produce χρύσιος through χρυσ(ε)ιος. The loss of intervocalic *ι* is amply attested for all Hellenic dialects. γλῦκιος may perhaps represent a γλυκε(ρ)ιός. On Cyprian *ι* < *ε* before vowels, see p. 109.

2. The terminations -αισι and -οισι have sometimes been regarded Aeolic. The infrequency of their appearance in Homer in comparison with the growth of -αις and -οις is indicative of an obsolescent formation; their prevalence in Aeolic literature and inscriptions, and their sparse appearance in Ionic (except Herodotus) and in Attic seemed to point a form that, quantitatively considered, might be called Aeolic. Arcadian Ἀλειοῖσι, 1183, is the only example of -οισι in this dialect. It has been supposed that No. 1183 was of Elean origin, but -οισι offers no support to this belief, as the Elean form is invariably -οις or -οιρ. See Kirchhoff, Alphabet,<sup>4</sup> 159. I regard -οισι as pan-Hellenic, not Aeolic, and Ἀλειοῖσι as the sole survival in Arcadian of the locative case form, which in every Greek dialect gave place gradually to the instrumental -οις > -οῖς. Ἀλειοῖσι cannot be a loan formation, since -οις was the accepted form in every neighboring dia-

lect at the time of this inscription (about 400). With the exception of the form for  $\Xi$  the alphabet is pre-Ionic. With the realization of the fact that  $-οισι$  and  $-οις$  are totally distinct case-forms, the attempt to extirpate  $-οισι$  from Homer falls to the ground.  $-αις$  and  $-οις$  are the forms in Cyprian, Thessalian, and in Boeotian (except No. 744,  $\xiείνοισι$ , an epic reminiscence).  $-οισι$  occurs in Doric only in poetry.

4.  $\eta\muίσσοι$ , 1222<sub>25</sub>, with its  $\sigma\sigma$  seems to recall Aeolic  $\iota\sigma\sigma\thetaέουσι$ , 311<sub>15</sub>, of which the ground-form is found in Cretan  $\epsilon]ισφόμοιρον$  (Gortyn. X, 50) = Skt.  $vīṣu-$ . It is preferable, however, to regard the form with  $\sigma\sigma$  as pan-Hellenic, and sporadic in the Greek dialects.  $\eta\muισσον$  occurs on a Chalcidian inscription, according to Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XVI, 173. Where there is but a single  $\sigma$ , this may also arise from  $\sigma\epsilon-$ ; and there is no need to assume a parallel stem,  $\eta\muισο-$ . In North Greek we have  $\eta\muισος$  in Phocis and in Delphi (Anecd. Delph. 38 (late));  $\eta\muισσον$  is, however, also Delphic; cf. Wescher-Foucart, 126<sub>13</sub>, 213<sub>11</sub>. Aeolic  $\alpha\iota\muισέων$  (*sic*, and not  $\alpha\iota\muίσεων$ ), 213<sub>9, 11</sub>. The Cyprian form of  $\iota\sigma\sigma$  is  $\epsilon\phiεισος$ , 68.

5. Traces of Aeolic  $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambdaωσις$  cannot be discovered.  $\alpha\lambdaκίππω$ , not  $\alpha\lambda\chi$ , since the spiritus asper of  $\iota\piπος$  is secondary. The same may be said of  $\Piλειστίερος$  from the older  $\iotaερός$  (*ishirá*), despite  $\text{Ηιερόν}$ , 1257<sub>2</sub>. Were any distinct traces present of the Arcadians having been  $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambdaωτικοί$ , as the Lesbians and Eleans, nothing would be proved as to their nearer connection, since even on the hypothesis of a North Aeolic dialect (Lesbian, Thess., Boeot.) the  $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambdaωσις$  of the Lesbians has to be referred to a period after the withdrawal of the Lesbian Aeolians.

## II. ARCADIAN AND THESSALIAN.

In Arcadian we have  $-νι$  added to the demonstrative stem formation  $\tauαν[ν]ί$ , 1222<sub>53</sub>. With this particle is connected the Thessalian  $-νε$  in  $\tauόνε\tauούνηενν\tauούνεος$ . This  $νι$  is a result of the abstraction of  $ν + ι$  ( $\iota\delta$ ) from such cases as  $\tauον-ι(\delta)$ ,  $\tauαν-ι(\delta)$ ,  $\tauων-ι(\delta)$ ; this  $-νι$  was then added to  $\tauάν$  (above). It is probable that Thessalian  $-νε$  is nothing more than this  $-νι(\delta)$ , though no sufficient reason can be adduced for the substitution of  $\epsilon$  for  $ι$ .<sup>1</sup> The Thessalians appear to have had a fondness for the  $\epsilon$  sound; cf.  $\deltaιέ$  for  $\deltaιά$ ,  $\betaέλλειται$  for  $\betaούληται$ . Reference has already been made (p. 68) to the  $-ν$  of Cyprian genitive singular ( $\acute{\alpha}ργύρων$ ) and to its possible connection with this  $-νι$  or  $-νε$ .

<sup>1</sup> Baunack, *Studien*, p. 56, and note, page 68 above.

The form *βέλλεται* renders apparent a tendency in each dialect to change *ται*, the personal ending of the middle, though the result is different. Arcad. *-τοι* (*ἰνδικάζητοι*, 1222<sub>34</sub>; *γένητοι*, 1222<sub>5</sub>; *τέτακτοι*; 1222<sub>44</sub>). Thessal. *-τει* (*βέλλεται*).

The treatment of vowel + nasal + *s* in the different dialects is so varied that it is impossible to construct any system that shall take as its starting-point the ground-form (*e.g.* *avs*, *ovs*) and nevertheless make clear the difference, in the treatment of this ground-form, between dialects that are otherwise patently allied to each other. In no one particular do the so-called Aeolic dialects diverge more widely: —

	<i>avs</i>	<i>ovs</i>
Aeolic . . . .	<i>παῖσα, ταῖς</i>	<i>μοῖσα, τοῖς</i>
Thessalian . . .	<i>πάνσα</i> <i>ταμίας</i>	<i>ταγός</i>
Boeotian . . . .	<i>δραχμάς</i>	<i>ῥώσας</i>
Arcadian . . . .	<i>ἐργωνήσας</i> <i>δαρχμάς</i>	<i>τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους</i>
Cyprian . . . .	<i>τάς</i>	<i>τῶς?</i>
Elean . . . .	<i>μναῖς μνᾶς πᾶσα</i> <i>καταξίαιρ</i>	<i>τοῖρ</i>

The quantity of *-as* in Thessalian and Arcadian is supposed to be short<sup>1</sup>; in Boeotian, long. See Prellwitz, *De dialecto Thessalica*, p. 32, 33.

The Cyprian *to·se·* is generally transcribed in Greek as *τῶς*, doubtless on the analogy of *e·mi* as *ἡμί*, and from the assumed Doric character of compensatory lengthening in Cyprian. We have, however, no warrant for accepting *τῶς* to the prejudice of either *τό(ν)ς* or, more probably, *τός*. If the parent Arcadian had *τός*, it is difficult to see how the influence of neighboring Doric speech could have been so powerful as to have displaced so common a form. Deecke formerly wrote *τόνς* (*Curt. Stud.* VII, 1875), as Cauer, in *Wochens. für kl. Philol.* 1884, p. 99; but in his *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, *τός*. But an Arcadian prototype is not as authoritative a criterion as might be desired, from the fact that both *τός* and *κελεύωνσι* exist side by side, though the latter, however, is a later form.

The dialects of Argos and of Crete are extremely instructive as

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 205, Anm. 2, assumes that the *a* was long. At the period when *-ντι* became *-νσι* there was no possibility of the *ν* disappearing, since the movement which created *δαρχμάς* had spent itself.

regards the chronology of *-avs*, *-as*, *-ovs*, *-os*. In the older inscriptions of each dialect we find *-avs* and *-ovs*; <sup>1</sup> in the later monuments, *-as* and *-os*. Hence any dialect which long preserved *vs* does not offer any trace of the influence of *v* when it disappeared at a comparatively late date in the development of the dialect. But in those dialects in which *v* vanished at an early date, compensatory lengthening serves to attest that early disappearance. Now were we certain of the Cyprian forms *ἰω(ν)σι* or *ἰωσι*, *ἕξ(ο)νσι* or *ἕξωσι* (cf. p. 66), we might better compare Arcadian and Cyprian. If both preserved *νσι* (cf. Arcad. *κελεύωνσι*), the Arcadian and Cyprian forms would be *τός* and *τᾶς*, of which the former is actually preserved. Common usage, however, dictates Cyprian *τῶς*, the parallel to which would be *τᾶς*.

The Doric dialect with its *ās* and *ās̄*, *ως* and *ος* show that both forms may coexist in prose and in verse.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of indisputable forms suggests that Arcadian finds its nearest parallel in Thessalian among the dialects nearer akin to Aeolic, and in Doric (Argos, Crete, etc.). No one has as yet, I believe, committed himself to the statement that Arcadian *τός* is a loan form from a Doric dialect in which *τόνς* was long preserved, but finally passed into *τός*.

NOTE 1.—The difference between the dialects in their treatment of *v* + secondary *σ* at the end and between vowels is briefly this: In Arcadia and Thessalia this *vs* is preserved intact. In a part of Crete and in Argos this *vs* is preserved intact, as also final *v* + *s*. In all other dialects the nasal sound is expelled, leaving *ι* + *s* in Aeolic and in the rest *s* with preceding compensatory lengthening. But the relations of Arcadian and Cyprian are peculiar if the Cyprian form is in reality *τᾶς*, since, with *κελεύωνσι* and *τός*, we have all three forms. An Arcado-Cyprian *τός* and *κελεύωνσι* are reconcilable, but not an Arcado-Cyprian *κελεύωνσι* and *τῶς*. If, however, *ἰωσι* and *τῶς* are the Cyprian forms, Cyprian appears to have followed its own dictation, and there is no Arcado-Cyprian common form.

NOTE 2.—In *δέατοι* Arcadian has lost *ϕ*, as Thessalian in *ποτεδέετο*. Cf. Aeolic *δεύω*; Attic *δείηται*, C. I. A. II, 167<sub>43, 48</sub> (334–325 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> This orthography may be merely a traditional representation of the ground-form; and *ās*, *ōs* may have been spoken.

<sup>2</sup> *ās* in Doric can be attested in poetry alone; *ος* occurs in Crete, Thera, Cyrene, Cos, etc.

## ARCADIAN AND BOEOTIAN.

There are no specific points of contact between Arcadian and Boeotian. Their joint correspondences are of little value for the purpose of proving any direct relationship.

1. Dat. = loc. in *-oi*.

This is in reality pan-Hellenic, and has been assumed to be in use in Cyprian parallel to *οι*, *ω*. See p. 73. Arcadian and Boeotian meet here solely in the fact that they have preserved a greater number of cases of *-oi* than any other dialect. *-oi* recurs in North Greek, later Elean, and Eretrian. In Doric and Attic-Ionic the *-oi* forms are held in check by the regular dative in *-οι*. Cf. p. 100.

2. Arcadian shares with Boeotian, but chiefly with Doric, the imperative ending *-ντω*. See p. 95.

3. Arcadian: *ἀν* in *ἀνᾶλώμασιν*, 1222<sub>41</sub>; *ἀγκαρνσ[σόντω]*, 1222<sub>19</sub>; *ἀνέθηκε*, 1225; *ἀνέθεν*, 1229.

*ἀν* does not occur alone, nor is *ἀνά* found.

The Cyprian form is *ὄν* in *ὀνέθηκε*, 72, 74, 75, 120; *ὀνέθηκεν*, Tamassus, Berl. Phil. Wochensch., 1886, p. 1323 (*ὀνέθηκε*, 45, is doubtful). Either the *κοινή* form *ἀνά* or the Doric *ἀν* appears in *ἀνέθηκε*, 17, 76.

Cyprian herein ranks with Aeolic: *ὄγκαρυσσέτω*, 304<sub>a 37</sub> (Aeolic has in later inscriptions the *κοινή* form); and with Thessalian: *ὄν-γραφει*, 361<sub>a 11</sub>. Boeotian has the Doric *ἀν* and the *κοινή* *ἀνά*. Elean has *ἀνά* as Ionic-Attic. This variation of Arcadian from Cyprian is one of the most salient differences between the two dialects, which, especially in the form and use of the prepositions, have preserved intact their kinship to the latest times. It is certainly surprising that *ἀν* in Arcadian should be due to Doric influence, whereas *ἀπύ* and *ἐς*, *cum dativo*, have been preserved.

4. *ε* for the common *ο* in *Ἐρχομένιοι*, 1212; cf. Boeot. *Ἐρχομένος*, the epichoric name of the Boeotian and of the Arcadian city. This too has been held to be an example of the general fondness for *ερ* among dialects of Aeolic coloring. The interrelation of *ερ* and *ορ* in this and similar words (e.g. Boeot. *Τρεφία* and *Τροφία*) has not yet been clearly made out.

5. Arcadian and Boeotian stand nearer in the gen. sing. *Ἄ* decl. (Arcad. *-av*; Boeot. *-ao*, seldom *ᾱ*) than do Arcadian and Thessal.

<sup>1</sup> Thessaliotis and Histraeotis have *ἀνά*.

( $\bar{a}$ ) or Arcadian and Aeolic ( $\bar{a}$ ). The traces of  $-ao$  in Cyprian are sporadic, cf. p. 65.

6. On Arcadian and Boeotian  $\theta\epsilon\bar{\alpha}\rho\acute{o}s$ , see p. 98. The Arcadian and Boeotian  $a$  in  $-κασιοι$ ,  $-κατιοι$ , is a survival of the original form in  $a$  (see p. 99), and therefore no special mark of interrelation.

7.  $\xi\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , 1234 (about 200 B.C.), an inscription almost entirely Hellenistic;  $\iota\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , 1233; cf. Boeot.  $\xi\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  about twenty-five times;  $\xi\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  only 492<sup>10</sup>, 719<sup>8</sup>; Doric-Aeolic,  $\xi\gamma\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . Cf. also  $\text{'}\text{Αριστοπάμων}$ , 1231<sup>e7</sup>, 1248<sup>43</sup>.

8. The Arcadian dialect displays the same variation in the form of the name of Dionysus as is observable in other dialects;  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ , 1203<sup>12</sup>;  $\Delta\iota\omega\nu\acute{\nu}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , 1246, A 4. Neither  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  appears on any Cyprian monument. It is impossible to discover any dialect affinities in the varying forms of the Attic  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\text{Ζόννσος}$ , Lesb.;  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , Thessal.;  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Cretan.;  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{o}\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , Lesb.;  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , Thessal. Homer,  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (except  $\lambda$  325), which cannot be Doric, nor Ionic if compensatory lengthening from  $\omicron\sigma\nu$  took place, since Ionic never has  $\omega$  for  $\omicron\nu$ , nor ever had it, according to Johansson, p. 66. Pindar too has  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  once, Isth. VII, 5. Boeot.,  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ; Elean,  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ ; Heracl.,  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ; Teos,  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ; Rhodes,  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ; Aetol.,  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  in Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar, the tragedians, Theocritus.

It is therefore probable that, as in the case of Poseidon, the Greek language possessed originally double forms of this name, to explain which has baffled all efforts. Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 39, objects with justice to Baunack's explanation from  $\delta\iota\text{-}\omicron\nu\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ , but fails to offer any more convincing suggestion than that  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  had an  $\sigma$  interposed from  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  by popular etymology.

With Boeotian (and with Laconian), Arcadian possesses the  $\omicron\iota$  diphthong in  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , Roberts, No. 276. Cf. Boeot.  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\iota[\delta]\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ; Lac.  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\iota\delta\alpha\iota\alpha$ .

#### ARCADIAN, THESSALIAN, BOEOTIAN.

$\sqrt{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$  from  $\sqrt{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$  in  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ , 1203<sup>18</sup>; Thessal.  $\text{'}\text{Ισστιαίε}[\iota]\omicron\varsigma$ ; Boeot.  $\text{'}\text{Ισστιαῖδας}$ . This proves no necessary connection between these dialects, as the change of  $\epsilon + \sigma$  + cons. +  $\iota$  to  $\iota + \sigma$  + cons. +  $\iota$  occurs in Ionic, Locrian, Laconian, Cretan, and in Heracleian; and is not of very early date. It is so restricted geographically that it can scarcely be called pan-Hellenic. See Collitz in A. J. P., VII, 216.



The Attic *ἔστια* has not been imported into Aeolic (Coll. 215<sup>47, 48</sup>) as has been assumed. In Attic *ἔστ-* is found upon the more ancient inscriptions. Cf. pp. 91, 109.

#### ARCADIAN, AEOLIC, THESSALIAN, BOEOTIAN.

Inflection of pure verbs according to the *-μι* class. *ζαμόντες*, 1222<sup>50</sup>; *ζαμῶ[σ]θω*, 1222<sup>28</sup>, not *ζαμοσθω*; from *\*ζαμῶμι*, rather than from *\*ζαμο + εσθω*; *ζαμόντω*, 1222<sup>17</sup> (cf. Johansson, p. 57); *ποίντω*, 1222<sup>9</sup>; *σ]τεφανῶτω*, Le Bas, 331<sup>45</sup> (not in Collitz); *ἀδικήμενος*, 1222<sup>4</sup>; *ἀδικέντα*, 1222<sup>4</sup>; [*έλλαν*] *οδικόντων*, 1257<sup>11</sup>. The *ew* inflection has, however, not been entirely superseded; cf. *διατελεῖ*, 1252. Aeol. *φιλήμενος*; Boeot. *ἀδικείμενος*, at least at the time of Aristophanes; cf. Ach. 884. There is no certain example of the "Aeolic" inflection in Cyprian. Cyprian *κατεφόρων*, 60, is explained by Deecke as coming from *καθορκέω*; by Johansson from *καταφορκώ*. This inflection obtains also in North Greek: Delphic, *ποιείμενος*; Locrian, *καλείμενος*; Elean, *κα(δ)δαλήμενος* (Pamphylian, *βωλήμενος*, may be from *-α + εμενος*). See A. J. P. VII, 441, where I have held that these forms cannot constitute a line of demarcation between different dialects. Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis*, p. 45, has shown that this so-called Aeolic inflection does not support any connection between North Greek and Thessal.-Lesb. He and Brugmann, *Gramm.*, § 118, explain these parallel forms to *ε-ο-μενος*, as originating from *ε-(ι)ε-μενος*; cf. Osthoff, *M. U. I.*, 212.

The fondness for the strong form *ερ* appears in *ζέρεθρα*, *δέρεθρον*, *Ἐρίων*, derivations from *θέρσος*, e.g. *Arcad.* *Θερσίας*, 1224, 1231, B 13; *Θερσίλαος*, Paus. VIII, 32, 1. *Aeolic* *Θέρσιππος*, 304. *Thessal.* *Θέρσουν*, *Θέρσιος*, Paus. V, 9, 1; *Θέρσιππος*. *Boeot.* *Θερσάνδριχος*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Neither *θερσ-* nor *θαρσ-* (*θρασ-*) occurs on any Cyprian inscription hitherto discovered; but in derivatives of *κρέτος* Cyprian ranks with Arcadian in possessing both the strong and the weak form.<sup>2</sup> It is an important point that only in the earlier inscriptions of dialects connected with Aeolic, in which the *κοινή* dialect has not forced an entrance, does this strong form come to light. From Doric inscriptions it is practically absent.<sup>3</sup> Quantitatively speaking, it is far more frequent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Homeric *Ἀλιθέρης*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Cyprian *ερ* or *ερ(α)*, ground form of *ἔρα*, *ρά*, or *ἔρ*. *τέρχινγα*, 69, 19, 22 (cf. *τρέχνος*), appears also to have the strong form.

<sup>3</sup> *θερσ-* in a few Spartan proper names. *θερσ-* rarely in Attic-Ionic; a Corcyraean *Θερσίλοχος*, Paus. 6, 13, 6.

in dialects of Aeolic coloring. The influence of Doric or Attic is seen in Arcadian in *Θρασέας*, 1231, C<sub>20, 30</sub>; 1250; *Θράσιππος*, 1249<sub>10</sub>; *Θρ]ασυμήδεος*, 1231, A 33; *Θράσων*, 1189, A 35. See p. 70 for *-κράτης*. In Thessalian *θαρσ-* is less, in Boeot. more, frequent than *θερσ-*. It is, perhaps, more advisable to assume the influence of contiguous cantons, rather than suppose that the force of case levelling, which produced Homeric *κάρτος* and *κράτος*, had been kept alive with such tenacity as, in the second century B.C., to generate the weak forms. It should, however, not be suppressed that older and younger forms might have existed side by side until the latter proved all-powerful. The long life of older formations is seen in *τριακάσιοι* = Doric *τριακα-τίοι*, whereas *a* has given place to *o* in Aeolic, Ionic, Attic, and, in fact, as early as the time of Homer.

NOTE. — *ἐπιζαρέω*, Arcadian, according to Eust. 909<sub>27</sub>, is, however, also used by Euripides; cf. *βαρύς*. No strong form is in use.

The cases of retention of *ερ* should all be classed together, as Cyprian cannot be said to show any marked divergence here from the other dialects of the "Aeolic" type.

#### ARCADIAN AND IONIC.

*ἄν* may be either Doric or Ionic. It is certainly not Aeolic. It occurs in conjunction with *κέ* in Homer, and in Arcadian alone.<sup>1</sup>

*εἰ* sixteen times in 1222, and in no other inscription. There is no trace of *αι*, which occurs in older Doric, Elean, Aeolic, Boet. (*ῆ*), Homer (*αἷ κε, αἷ γάρ, αἷθε*). Is *αι* in Homer also Ionic? *εἰ* is Ionic and Attic, and often met with in later Doric inscriptions; once in Heraclea, I, 127. *αι* : *εἰ* : *svai*, Osc. : *sī* < *svei*, according to G. Meyer, § 113. For a discussion on *αι*, *εἰ*, and Cypr. *ῆ*, see above, p. 72.

Allusion has been made on pp. 89, 109 to the stem *ἴστ* (*φιστ*) for *ἔστ*-, found in Arcadian, Homer, Herod., Thessalian, Boeotian, and Doric.

NOTE. — A curious mixture of Arcadian and Ionic is found in Cauer<sup>2</sup>, No. 537; cf. Roehl, 532, 533; Fick., *Odyssee*, p. 10: *Μεσσή]νιος φοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ* | [*θεοῖς πᾶσι*] *ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις*. . .

<sup>1</sup> For an assumed possible case in Cyprian, see p. 72.

## ARCADIAN AND DORIC.

Many of the instances of parallelism between Doric and Arcadian will, upon close examination, be found to consist of phenomena which are pan-Hellenic, or existing merely to a greater extent in Doric than in other dialects. As a large number of the phenomena of Arcadian has been claimed as Doric, I have thought it proper to discuss their assumed Doric character in the following sections.

1. Compensatory lengthening. *φθήρων*, 1222<sup>17</sup>; *ἰγκεχηρήκοι*, 1222<sup>12</sup>, from *ἰγχήρημι*, the Arcadian counterpart of Attic *ἐγχειρέω*; cf. *ἐκεχηρία* in Delphic, Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 204<sup>48, 49</sup>. *φθέραι*, 1222<sup>8</sup>, and *φθῆρων* stand in such irreconcilable contrast that it is probable the *ε* of the former is due to an orthographical slip, though as a rule No. 1222 is remarkably free from blunders. Another case where an error on the part of the engraver has been assumed is *διακωλύσει*. See p. 101 for a discussion of this form. *φθέραι* < \**φθέρσαι* is supposed by Brand, p. 75, to have descended from a "pan-Aeolic" period, in which \**φθέρσαι* existed, and in the same way as *κόρα* from *κόρφα*; cf. below, note 3. If *ρ* + *σ* was long retained, Brand maintains the expulsion of *σ* would be followed by no lengthening of the preceding vowel. *ρσ* (and *λσ*?) certainly did hold ground longer than did *νσ*, *μς*. Thus, for example, *ἔκειρε* must be explained as an analogue to *ἔκτεινε*, and *ἔκερσε* as a survival of the pan-Hellenic period. As *ρσ* became *ρρ* at an early date in Aeolic (though it was preserved in Ionic and old Attic), and as there is not a single example of the simplification of this *ρρ*, no twisting will make *φθέραι* out of *φθέρραι*. Nor is there any instance of the direct expulsion of *σ* from *ρσ*. As *ρσ* is retained in the aorist in poetry alone, except in case of the Cyprian *ἔκερσε*, 31, 32, Thessalian *κόρα* offers no support to Brand's hypothesis.

*Ἀμηνέας*, 1242, and *Ἀμ]εινίαν*, 1231, A 38, are irreconcilable forms in one and the same dialect. Either one or the other form is a loan form or contains an error of the stone-cutter. If we collect the evidence from the other Greek dialects as to the character of the sound preceding the *ν* of *ἀμείνων*, it appears that there is testimony in favor of *ει* as a genuine and as a spurious diphthong. *EI* is written C. I. A., I, 324 c; 138<sup>1</sup>; 446<sup>34</sup>; 447<sup>47</sup>; 40<sup>12</sup>. In Roehl, 372<sup>10</sup> (Styra), 390 (Amorgos), *EI* also occurs. But Cyprian *Ἀμηνίγᾱ*, 60<sup>18</sup>, speaks in

favor of an Arcado-Cyprian \**ἀμήνων*. On Boeotian inscriptions we find *Ἀμεινοκλείος*, 571; *Ἀμεινίαο*, 571, and 807<sub>a4</sub>, appendix; *Ἀμει[νο]-κλείος*, 549<sub>3</sub>, — all of the period of Ionic alphabet. But one form with EI antedates the introduction of the new alphabet: *Ἀ]μεινοκλείας*, 902. Of the twenty-five forms with *Ἀμιν-*, but one (*Ἀμεινοκλείς*, 914, III, 8) is written in the older alphabet, and but one in the transitional period (*Ἀμινάδοο*, 700<sub>10</sub>). All the others are in the Ionic alphabet. Meister (Dial. I, 222) holds incorrectly that the forms in *ει* are from *η*, which arose by compensatory lengthening thus failing to account for the EI of the old Attic alphabet.

In no period of the Greek language which is free from itacism (and Arcadian has but two examples — *πλήθι ἱράναι*<sup>1</sup> — of the itacistic stage) is there any interrelation between genuine *η* and genuine *ει*.<sup>2</sup> It is only in the age of Augustus that we find an *η* for *ει*, an *η* which is distinctly due to Latin influence.<sup>3</sup> Nor does Cyprian, despite its *ρήπω*, change genuine *ει* to *η*, as Deecke maintains. See p. 115. It is nevertheless true that there are cases in which *η* and *ει* appear side by side, as in Arcadian, *Πλειστίερος*, 1181, A 30; *Πληστίερος*, 1249<sub>11</sub>; *Πλείστ[ου]*, 1252<sub>3</sub> and *Π]λήσταρχος*, 1249<sub>5</sub>.<sup>4</sup> Here the *ει* is undoubtedly as genuine as that of *ἀμείνων*. Cf. Roehl, 119<sub>10</sub>, 532, 62 a Add.; C. I. A. I, 40<sub>51</sub>, 55, 64 b<sub>12</sub>. It is conceivable that by shifting, the *η* of \**πληγών* forced its entrance into the superlative *πλείστος* < \**πληγιστός*, but in the case of *Ἀμηνέας* *Ἀμηνία*, there is no point of departure for an *η* to supplant the original *ει*. The difficulties in the way of explaining these irregular forms are enhanced by the fact that the etymology of *ἀμείνων* is still uncertain.<sup>5</sup> Latin *mānus*, Sanscrit *samāna*, Lithuanic *aimieus* or *mainas*, have been tried and found wanting. The comparison of *melius* is certainly to be rejected. *amoenus* seems to explain the mutation vowel as EI, but its source is as obscure as that of the Greek word.

Doric procedure is also adopted in the unique *ῆναι* < *ἔσ + ναι*, 1222<sub>10</sub>, 1233<sub>2</sub> [1257<sub>3</sub>], with the spurious *η* of *ῆμεν*, which is Cretan, Heracleian, Elean, Boeot. (*εἶμεν* = *ῆμεν*), and also late Laconian.

<sup>1</sup> *ἡρήνα* or *ἡράνα* demanded by Spitzer, p. 34, are impossibilities.

<sup>2</sup> Thus *τέθεικα* is not from *τέθηκα*, but from analogy to *εἶκα*. *η* in *Ἑλήθουα* for *Ἑλείθουα* does not occur till the itacistic period. G. G. A., 1887, p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> Meisterhans, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *ΚΛΕΤέας*, Roberts, No. 282 = Coll. 1200, is uncertain. For other forms in *πλει* — and *πλη* — cf. below, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Meinck, De epenthesi graeca, 18–20, is unsatisfactory.

-*vai* belongs to Homeric, Attic, and Ionic, but in no instance to Doric. See p. 69.

NOTE 1. — If ἦ-*vai* is not from \*ἦσσαι, as seems probable, it may be a new formation from ἦ-μεν. This view is suggested by G. Meyer, and accepted with hesitation by Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 71.

NOTE 2. — Arcadian ξενο- is met with in the beginning of seventeen proper names and in two at the end. If Arcadian follows the laws of Doric compensatory lengthening, we should expect ξηνο-, or later ξεινο-, from a base ξενFo-, which occurs frequently in other dialects. In fact, as Doric has both ξηνο- and ξενο-, North Greek ξεινο- and ξενο-, Boeotian ξεινο-, we are either compelled to assume a double formation ξενFo- and ξενο-, or to hold that when F remained till a late period, it could disappear without leaving any trace of its former existence; but if the F of νF disappeared in certain dialects at a very early period, in certain words it produced either νν or compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. In poetry, however, the reduction of a geminated liquid or nasal may always ensue. Polybius, IV, 3, gives as a leader of the Aetolians Δορίμαχος (cf. C. I. G. 941, Attic). But we find Δωρίμαχος in an Acarnanian inscription, Coll. 1389. Ahrens' views (II, 171) on this point must be modified. The Attic form may have arisen from ξένFos, it is true, but a Doric archetypal form ξένFos can never have resulted in ξενο-. Cyprian has no certain instance of any form of the word ξένos. In Hall, Rev. No. 10 (A. O. S., XI, 235), a very doubtful inscription is read either Φεκὼν ἂ' Ἐρωτι or τὰ ξένα Ἐρωτι (ἐρρο(ν)τι), the character xe· having no middle stroke.

NOTE 3. — A similar violation of Doric laws of compensatory lengthening appears to exist in Μελιχίωι, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 464; Brugmann (Gramm. § 137), and Cauer, *ad loc.*, hold that φθέραι and Μελιχίωι are to be explained alike. Though it can be shown that the regular procedure of Doric in adopting a purely quantitative change of the α ε ο sounds in compensatory lengthening and in contraction with themselves, is more frequently violated than is generally supposed, in this case the analogy of Μελιχίωι for Arcad. φθέραι is worthless. Wilamowitz has referred the inscription to Arcadia (Zeits. f. Gymnasialwesen, XXXI, 648), but this has not been adopted by Bechtel, doubtless on the ground that the dative in -ωι is contrary to the genius of the dialect.

As regards the possible unity between all the "Aeolic" dialects, it cannot be shown on the score of Arcadian possessing ē (*i.e.* ē open) that the Arcadians left the assumed common home before Lesbians, Thessalians, and Boeotians changed ē to ē̄ (ē̄ closed), since it cannot even be demonstrated that the three latter peoples did effect such a change either at one period or in the same place. Whether σπέρρω had become σπήρω (open ē̄) in the Doric dialects by the time that the Arcadians are held to have reached Arcadia in their supposed prehistoric immigration from the north, whether the Arcadians adopted this σπήρω instead of their traditional σπέρρω, or whether they themselves abandoned their σπέρρω of their own accord, can never be settled. It is probable, as far as the so-called Aeolic dialects are concerned, that they all possessed the form σπέρρω before their separation (assuming for the moment the breaking up of an original unity); whereas the Doric dialect before its division must have already accepted σπήρω.

## 2. Third plural imperative in -ντω.

The examples in question occur in 1222 alone: διαγνόντω, l. 8;<sup>1</sup> ποέντω, 9; ξαμιόντω, 17; ἀγκαρυσ[σόντω], 19; ἱναγόντω, 19.

This termination of the imperative recurs in inscriptions of Laconia, Delphi, Messenia (Andania), and Rhodes. Cf. Boeot. οὔπερδίκιόνθω, etc. The Lesbian termination is -ντον (στείχοντον, κατάγρεντον).

3. δαμιοργί, 1181<sub>9</sub>, recalls the same form in Messenian (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 47<sub>119</sub>), Achaean (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 274; C. I. G. 1542<sub>18</sub>, 1543<sub>21</sub>, 1567<sub>32</sub>), Locrian (Coll. 1479, 1480), Megarian (Bull. de Corr. Hellen. IX, 269, and Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 104<sub>19</sub>), which was written under the dominion of the Achaean league;<sup>3</sup> and in inscriptions from Cnidus (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 166, 167<sub>8,9</sub>), Telos (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 169), Rhodes (doubtful, as δαμιοΥΓήσας is found, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 187, and δαμιουργήσας, Foucart, Rev. Arch. XIV, 333, n. 59, Camirus).<sup>4</sup> δαμιουργίσωσα is met with in Pamphylian (Collitz, 1260 and 1261; cf. also Ὀλόντιοι in Cretan, C. I. G. 2554<sub>8</sub>). While more abundant on Doric territory, the existence of the vowel shortening before two consonants in Ionic must free this Arcadism from the suspicion of being herein tinged with a Doric peculiarity. As a matter of fact, δαμιοργός occurs in Doric,<sup>5</sup> Locrian (according to Roehl, 322<sub>15</sub> = Coll. 1479, where Bechtel has ο), and in Elean (Roehl, 122<sub>2</sub> = Coll. 1170). Cauer has attempted, in the Wochens. für klass. Phil., 1885, n. 26, to read ξαμιοργία for ξαμιοργία in Elean. The reading of Blass (No. 1152) is, however, not to be rejected; cf. also Ὀπ[οντίων] (Roehl, 321), for Ὀπωντίων, Curt. Studien, III, 238.

NOTE.—The explanation of long vowel + sonant + consonant becoming short vowel + sonant + consonant is amply satisfactory (see Johansson, De derivatis verbis contractis, p. 20; Osthoff, M. U. I, 238; Perfect, 84, 196, etc.), and distinctly preferable to the assumption of a karmadhāraya compound, \*δαμ(ε)φοργός.

4. Arcadian and Boeotian ἀν = ἀνά, as in Doric. Brand, De dialectis Aeolicis, p. 43, attributes the presence of ἀν in both these idioms to Doric influence. This cannot, however, be made out with any certainty. See p. 88.

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs I. G. A. 68, on the Laconian inscription from Tegea.

<sup>2</sup> Ahrens, I, 234, called the ο for ω/ου here a peculiarity of Achaean.

<sup>3</sup> An Achaean magistrate is referred to.

<sup>4</sup> Cauer restores δαμιοργός in a much mutilated inscription from Argos (Delectus, No. 48).

<sup>5</sup> δαμιουργός in the so-called Doris Mitior, C. I. G. 1193.

5. Infinitive in *-εν*. *ἱμφαίνεν* (or *ἱμφαῖνεν*), 1222<sub>24</sub>; *ἐπηρειάζεν*, 1222<sub>46</sub>; *ὑπάρχεν*, 1222<sub>88</sub>. This form is not attested outside of Tegea. The Cyprian *ε·κε·νε·* is the subject of much dispute. Deecke reads *ἐχην*, Johansson *ἐχεν*, doubtless to establish an Arcado-Cyprian ground-form in *-εν*, which is very tempting. Until the question is definitely settled, I have not compared an Arcado-Cyprian *ἐχεν* with a Doric *ἐχεν*. This termination has come to light in Cretan, Heraclæan, Theraean, and in Delphic, though Cauer,<sup>3</sup> 204, contains the only example in the last-named dialect. *ἀναγράφεν* in Locrian, Coll. 1508, is perhaps a slip. It will, however, be necessary to reconstruct our ideas as to the diffusion of this infinitive ending, which will have to be regarded as pan-Hellenic, if we can obtain an absolutely certain example of its appearance in Ionic. At present, however, *ὀφείλεν* (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 527 = Bechtel, *Ionische Inschriften*, No. 71) is the only example we possess. Bergmann, who first published the inscription, wrote *ὀφείλεν*; Cauer, *ὀφείλε(ι)ν*; Spitzer (p. 54), *ὠφείλεν*. Bechtel places the inscription in the fourth century, on account of the use of E for the spurious diphthong, thus reading *ὀφείλειν*. For a discussion of the origin of the infinitive *-ν* and *-εν*, see Johansson, p. 202.

6. It has been assumed that both Arcadian and Cyprian have ξ in the aorist of *-ζω* verbs. In proof thereof, Arcad. *παρετάζωνσι*, 1222<sub>28</sub> (from *παρετάζω*, according to Gelbke, p. 38, and not from *παρατάσσω*, as Bergk maintains) is adduced, together with Cyprian *ἐξ ὀρύξη*, 60<sub>12</sub>. The latter form is referred by Curtius, *Verbum*,<sup>2</sup> II, 298, to *ἐξορίζω* and *ὄρφος*, and explained as the equivalent of Attic *ἐξορίση*. This explanation was adopted by Deecke and Sigismund (*Stud.* VII, 252); but Deecke has now retracted his former statement, and derived *ἐξ ὀρύξη*, as he writes the word, from *ὀρύττω*. *ὠρίσεν*, 126, *κατεσκεύασε*, 31, speak against a Doric ξ in Cyprian.

The peculiarity of the Doric dialects in their treatment of *-ζω* verbs is this: when *-ζω* arises from a non-guttural stem, Doric follows the analogy of the guttural stems, and has ξ in the future and aorist. But Ionic-Attic has σ even when the verbal stem ended in a guttural, thus following the analogy of the dental stems. *διαρπάξαις* in Aeolic (Coll. 281) is therefore a survival of the original formation, which even in Homer had yielded to the σ form (*ἦρπασε* by the side of *ἦρπαξε*); cf. Cauer, in *Sprachw. Abhand. hervorgeg. aus Curtius' Gramm. Gesellschaft*, p. 147.

NOTE. — The method of affecting compensatory lengthening, *ἄν* for *ἀν*, and the presence of ξ in the aorist of a verb with ζ in the present stem, are the

only cases in Arcadian of contact between that dialect and those phenomena which have been held to be the characteristic marks of all the dialects of the Doric type, and to separate them from all others. There is no case of  $-\tau$ , of the future in  $-\omega$  or  $-\epsilon\omega$ , as in  $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\acute{\iota}\omega$   $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , or of  $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  for  $-\mu\epsilon\nu$ .

In many cases where Doric influence has been assumed, the phenomenon in question is in reality originally pan-Hellenic, but in the course of time has come to be the possession of a limited number of dialects. Thus, for example, we find the dual in Arcadian,  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$ , 1242,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ ]  $\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\nu$ , 1257<sub>II</sub>.<sup>1</sup> See Fick, G. G. A., 1883, p. 120; Roberts, No. 285. The fact of the early disappearance of the dual from Aeolic is not to be urged against a possible relationship between Aeolic and Arcadian, in favor of a closer connection between Doric and Arcadian.

' $\text{A}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , 1190, based upon ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , suggests Doric influence. ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  is ascribed to the Dorians by Herodian (II, 418, 25), and is found extensively upon Doric monuments (Crete, Laconia, Pamphylia, Megara, Syracuse); ' $\text{A}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Crete, Heraclea, Delphi; Pamph. ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\alpha$ . Were it not, however, for the existence of parallel names in Tenos, Colophon, Chios, Teos, Naucratis (Gardner's Naucratis, I, plate XXXII, 104), this Arcadian ' $\text{A}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  might be held to be a loan form, especially as the Ionic, Attic, Aeolic, Boeotian, Cyprian (with the exception mentioned below) ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  prevails in Arcadia. The existence at the same time in one and the same dialect of the mutation forms ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  and ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  shows that in the period antedating the division into dialects, both forms must have existed, and that either one or the other was preferred in different parts of Greece,<sup>2</sup> though not to the entire exclusion of the other. A third form, ' $\text{A}\pi\lambda\omega\nu$ , is found in Thessalian ( $\text{A}\pi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\epsilon$ ) alone (cf. p. 108); a fourth form, ' $\text{A}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ , from Cyprus (Deecke in Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1886, p. 217), is also *sui generis*.

This remarkable form with  $\epsilon\iota$ , I have attempted to explain below, p. 115. On the name ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , see Prellwitz in B. B., IX, 327 ff. I can see no reason whatsoever for adopting Schröder's etymology, whereby Vedic Saparyenya and ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  are connected.

Spitzer holds that Arcadian follows Doric laws of contraction, but in most cases the result of the concurrence of vowels is not different in Doric from that in Aeolic, e.g.  $\bar{a} + \omega = \bar{a}$  in  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu\hat{\alpha}\nu$ ; cf.  $\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu$   $\mu\omicron\acute{\iota}$ -

<sup>1</sup> Cf.  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 1222<sub>26</sub>. At best the dual has no strong hold in Doric; cf. Lac.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\omega$ , I. G. A. 83;  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\epsilon$ , 86, like  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$  above ( $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon$  for  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ , I. G. A. 69<sub>7</sub>).

<sup>2</sup> The Doric dialects held fast to the form which best represents the strong forms of the old inflection: nom. ' $\text{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , gen. ' $\text{A}\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , voc. ' $\text{A}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ .



σαν in Aeolic. Ἑρμ[ἄνο]ς, Roberts, 276; cf. 251, Laconia, and on a bronze boar's head from Arcadia, now in Winterthur. νικῶν, Roberts, No. 280, is epic. In Boeotian, substantives still preserve the open form (δραχμάων), Thess. κοινάων.<sup>1</sup> So ε + ε, η + ε, etc., are alike in Doric and in Aeolic. Medial  $\bar{a} + o = \bar{a}^2$  as in κοινᾶνας, 1222<sub>21</sub>; Aeolic  $\bar{a} + o = \bar{a}o$  or  $\omega$  or  $\bar{a}$  (Κρονιδᾶ, ἄς, Λαχάρης); = Doric  $\bar{a}$ . cf. p. 81.

Gelbke, p. 17, asserts that Arcadians and Boeotians agree with the Dorians in having  $\bar{a}$  where other dialects have  $\omega$ . Of the examples quoted, Θεαρίδας, 1211<sub>2,4</sub>, calls for attention. θεαρός prevails in Laconian, Cretan, Delphic, Aetolian, Elean (θεαροίρ), Boeotian, etc.; θεωρός in Ionic, Attic, and Aeolic. θεᾶρός is from θεα + ορος; θεωρός is from analogy to θηρωρός (Sappho, 98) > θηρᾶ + ορος, cf. θηραφόρος, Deecke, B. B., IX, 251. Doric, Boeotian, and Aeolic, contract  $\bar{a}o$  to  $\bar{a}$ , though Aeolic may leave  $\bar{a}o$  uncontracted. So far, then, from sharing here any marked allegiance to Boeotian, the Arcadian Θεαρίδας fails to prove this assertion.

The ablaut form Ποσοιδᾶνος, 1217, finds its parallel in Boeot. Ποται[δ]ά[ιχος], 474<sub>12</sub>, and in Laconian Ποιδᾶνα. The Aeolic form has the middle ablaut form ει (Ποσειδαν). The αι form is equally original. Collitz suggests (Verwandschaftsverhältnisse der gr. Dialekte, p. 14) that the Laconian name Ποιδᾶν must have been borrowed from the Arcadians or from a people of similar dialect, since the genuine Spartan appellation of the sea-god in Sparta was Ποτιδᾶν or Πορειδᾶν. Brand asserts the direct contrary: — that the Arcadians borrowed the Laconian form. But as the σ for τ is found on Doric territory (Ποσειδᾶν, Herodian, II, 916; Bull. de Corr. Hell. 1884, p. 355<sub>24</sub>; Argolic Ποσιδάων, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 58), it is possible that it is not necessary to have recourse to an Arcadian Ποσοιδᾶν. The interchange of τ and σ is due to a levelling of the original relations: τ + ι became σ in the genitive and dative; whence σ before ει and οι, where τ originally belonged. Or the τ maintains its ground before ει and οι, and in turn supplants σ < τ + ι. From this we have Doric Πορειδᾶν, Ποτιδᾶς, Ποσειδᾶν, Ποσιδάων, Prellwitz, B. B., IX, 331).

Circumscribed within the confines of no narrow dialect boundaries, though frequently allowed in Doric (Curt. Verb.<sup>3</sup> I, 75), are the past tenses in -ν of the non-thematic conjugation: as, ἀνέθεν = ἀνέθεσαν,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλκμᾶν, 1181, B 24, is also Doric; cf. Ποτιδᾶν <  $\bar{a} + o$ . The Aeolic form represents the ante-contraction period.

<sup>2</sup>  $\bar{a} + o$  as final sound = αν in Arcadian and Cyprian; =  $\bar{a}$  in a medial syllable.

1229, 1230, 1258. This formation appears in Homer, Hesiod, Simon. Ceos, Pindar, but is rare in the tragedians; in inscriptions we find it in Messenian, Argolic, Heracleean, Laconian, and Delphic. Boeot. *ἀνέθειαν* has a different personal ending (*αν(τ)*) from *ἀνέθεν* (*-ν(τ)*).

*δέατοι*, 1222<sub>10</sub> (*οἱ δὲ στραταγοὶ πόσοδομ ποέντω, εἴ κ' ἂν δέατοί σφεις πόλεμος . . .*); 1222<sub>18</sub>, *ᾧσαι ἂν δέατοί σφεις ζαμίαι*; 1222<sub>46</sub>, *εἰ δ' ἂν τις . . . ἐπηρειάζεν δέατοι ἰν τὰ ἔργα*.

*ἐπισυνίστατοι*, 1222<sub>15, 16</sub>, is another example of the same formation, which is pan-Hellenic (not from \**δεα + η + ται*, etc.<sup>1</sup>) and the original form of the subjunctives. Similar forms, illustrative of this primitive type of subjunctive before analogical influences had broken down their ancient structure, may be found in Curt. Verb.<sup>2</sup> II, 81; Johansson, *De verbis derivatis*, p. 69. Their geographical horizon embraces besides, Pindar, Pyth. IV, 92; Hipponax, 194; Hesiod, Aspis, 377; Dreros, Cnossus, Gortyna, Thera, Calymnia, Andania (five examples). It is thus a matter of chance that Doric seems to have been most tenacious of this ancient morphological heirloom. Certainly no connection of the Tegeans with Crete (Paus. VIII, 53, 4) can establish a connection of the Cretan with the Arcadian form. Nor is the Messenian form evidence of its existence in Sparta, whence Crete was colonized.

The peculiar form of the vocatives of *-ες* stems calls for comment, as it is in direct contrast to the Aeolic scheme of inflection. *Ἀτέλη*, 1205; *Πολυκλῆ*, 1206: cf. *Ἀγαθοκλῆ*, 1243; cf. C. I. G. 1148, Argol. In the Theogony of Hesiod, we find *Κυπρογένη*. To what dialect, if to any specific one, this form of the vocative is to be referred, is uncertain. The Aeolic tendency to metaplastic inflection avoids recourse to the *Â* declension, preferring the *Ō* declension. Cf. *Σώκρατε*, *Ἀριστόφανε*, Joh., Gramm., 245; Greg. Corinth, 617; Gram. Meerm, 662. The analogy of *αἰναρέτης*, voc. *αἰναρέτη*, produced the vocative in *-η* instead of *-ες*. Other examples of this vocative are *Σωσικλῆ*, C. I. G. 3114, Teos; *Ἀριστοκλῆ*, C. I. G. 1154, Argolis; *Διοκλῆ*, Kaibel, 299, Erythrae; *Δαμοκράτη*, K 949, Sparta; *Διομήδη*, K 1124, Pompeii; *Σωκράτη*, C. I. G. 1150, Argolis; *Ἑρμοκράτη*, Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. VI, 129; *Μενεκράτη*, C. I. G. 1153, Argol; *Ἑρμογένη*, C. I. G. 9689, Rome, etc.

*τριάκασιοι*, 1222<sub>8</sub>, has preserved the original *a* of the *-κάτιοι* of the Heracleean, Delphic, Boeotian, Laconian (*-κατίοι*), Elean ([*(π)*]*εντακατίων*), Pamphylian (*φίκατι*), etc., while it has permitted assibilation.

<sup>1</sup> *δέατοι* is subjunctive to *δέατο*, ζ 242. Cf. *δεάμην· ἐδοκίμαζον*.

The change of  $\tau\iota$  to  $\sigma\iota$  is, however, chiefly prevalent in those dialects (Aeolic, Ionic, Attic) which have substituted  $\sigma$  for  $\alpha$  through analogy to  $-\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ . This form, then, is, as it were, the meeting-point of two series of dialects, Aeolic and Ionic-Attic. Arcadian  $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$  offers no proof of an original Aeolic dialect, which changed  $\alpha$  to  $\sigma$  through Ionic influence.

A few points calling for brief comment may now be added : —

$\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\eta\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , 1222<sub>14</sub> = Attic  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , has been held to be a Dorism, since  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\eta\kappa\alpha$  occurs in Archimedes. See Ahrens, II, 347.  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\eta\kappa\alpha$  is used, however, by Herodotus and by Eupolis.

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\omega$ , 1222<sub>14</sub>.  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\kappa\alpha$ <sup>1</sup> is said by Suidas to be Doric (and Ionic). Herodian, II, 236<sub>2</sub>, calls  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\kappa\alpha$  Doric. Cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , Tab. Heracl. I, 152, and Hdt. II, 165,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ , in Cod. F with  $\omega$  of the strong form, as in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  (Herodian, II, 236).  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  are called Attic by Et. Mag. 176, 51, and by Et. Gud. 96, 11. See Ahrens, II, 344.

It will scarcely be maintained that because  $\sigma\varsigma < \omicron\nu\varsigma$  occurs in Arcadian and in Thessalian alone, of all the dialects that are in touch with Aeolic, that therefore Arcadian is tinged with Dorism. It is, on the other hand, probable that these dialects possessed  $\omicron\nu\varsigma$  in their earliest stage, and transformed it according to individual preference, some changing before others the open  $\omicron$  before  $\nu\varsigma$  to a closed sound. See above, p. 86.

Pan-Hellenic are the so-called datives in  $-\omicron\iota$ , in reality locatives, which have usurped the function of the allied case. Arcadian:  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>3, 40, 54</sub>;  $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>42</sub>;  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ , 1222<sub>2</sub>, 1233<sub>2, 6</sub>;  $\tau\omicron\iota$  in 1222 six times, 1256;  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron$ [ι, 1233<sub>5</sub>. In Arcadian there is no case of  $\omega\iota$ . The same displacement of the dative occurs in Boeotian, ( $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota$ ,  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu$ ), in Phocian, Epirotic, Acarnanian, Aetolian (see A. J. P. VII, 431), and in Elean,  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota$ , 1153<sub>7</sub>, 1156<sub>4</sub>, 1159<sub>8</sub>. Aeolic has  $\omega$ , from  $\omega\iota$ , in inscriptions; Thessalian,  $\omicron\nu$ , from  $\omega(\iota)$ . Cf. p. 73.

It is unsafe to conclude with Schrader, in Curt. Stud. X, p. 274, that the  $\alpha\iota$  of  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$  (cf. p. 92), 1222<sub>8</sub>, is a proof of the Doric character of the dialect.  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$  is preceded by  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ :  $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\nu\ .\ .\ .\ \acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\eta}\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$ .  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  has been taken as a future by Bergk (Commentatio, p. xv) and by Schrader; but I know of no law of Greek syntax with which such a construction is in accordance. If a future, it is due to a bad slip on

<sup>1</sup> From  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega\text{-}\alpha$ , with ablaut of  $\acute{\eta}$ .

the part of the stone-cutter.<sup>1</sup> Gelbke thinks with Michaelis that  $\epsilon$  has been omitted through the inadvertence of the stone-cutter. Reading *διακωλύσει*, he compares *τύψει*. We have already assumed that *φθέραι* contains an error (p. 92), and this observation is, perhaps, to be extended to the remarkable form *διακωλύσει*. As an optative, this form cannot be shown to exist in Aeolic or Doric. See Curt. Verb.<sup>2</sup> II, 293; G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 593. Brugmann has offered the only explanation of the form as it stands (Morph. Untersuch. III, p. 66). *κωλύοιαν* (cf. El. ἀποτίνοιαν) : γράψειαν : κωλύοι : \*γραψει (*i.e.* *διακωλύσει*). But there are patent defects to this, as also to Spitzer's assumption of a samprāsana of  $\iota\epsilon$  to  $\iota$  or of  $\epsilon\epsilon$  to  $\epsilon\iota$  in Arcadian.

Arcadian *πρόσθα* (Coll. 1200; Roberts, 277) seems to be Doric, as Aeolic literature and inscriptions have only *-θε* and *-θεν*. cf. Thessal. *ἐμπροσθεν*. But as *-θα* is cited as Aeolic by Joh. Alexandrinus (*τονικά παραγγέλματα*, 33<sub>10</sub>), there is no doubt but that the *-θα* form is both Aeolic and Doric. Cf. Hom. *ὑπαιθα*, Fick, G. G. A., 1883, p. 120. Brand's conjecture, *πρόσθε*, is wide of the mark. There is no proof that "*θα* was changed to *θε* in a pan-Aeolic dialect."

Arcad. *μέστε* or *μέστα*, 1222<sub>80</sub> (*μέστ' ἂν ἀφῇ[τοι] τὰ ἔργα*). Cf. Cretan *μέστα καὶ ἁ κρίσις ἐπιτελεσθῇ*, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 120<sub>80</sub>; *μέττ' ἐς*, Gortyn, IX, 48. Homer has *μέσφα*. Thessalian *μέσποδι κε*, 345<sub>13</sub> = *ἕως ἂν*. Baunack (Studien, p. 23) attempts to explain *μέττες* (*sic*) as resulting from *μέχρι + ἔττε* < *ἔστε*, in the sense of *μέχρι εἰς ὄ*. He has, however, forgotten that in Thessalian the interrogative form of the pronoun is used, not for the simple, but for the compound, relative. Prellwitz, G. G. A., 1887, p. 438-441, explains *μεσ-* as *μετ + s*; cf. *πός* < *ποτ + s* (*μεσ-* : *μετά* : : *ποτ* : *ποτί* and *πετά*).

The change of  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  in *Θελοφούσιοι*, 1181 B 34, and *Θελοπούσιοι* on coins (cf. Paus. VIII, 25, 2) is probably purely local. *Θέλφουσα* is Delphic (Wescher-Foucart, 464, 465); *Τέλφουσα* occurs in Polybius, II, 54, etc. Cf. G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 206.

#### ARCADIAN, DORIC, IONIC.

$\sqrt{\text{ρισ}} < \text{φες}$  in *ρισιτιάν*, see p. 89, where the Thessalian and Boeotian forms are also adduced.

The form *νίως* (No. 1183, before 403) is probably pan-Hellenic, as it appears in Homer (*νιέος*) and elsewhere chiefly in Doric inscrip-

<sup>1</sup>  $\epsilon\iota$  with the future in legal documents is foreign at least to Attic usage.

tions (Gortyn, *νίός*, IX, 40; Lacon. *νίός*, I. G. A. 54; Syracuse, *ύέεσσι*); but also in Attic *ύός* C. I. A., I, 398<sub>4</sub>, fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> *νίός* appears, however, on one of the earliest Arcadian inscriptions, 1200<sub>3</sub> (450 B.C.), and in Cyprian *νίώ*, 41. In Attic *νίός* is found in a poetical inscription as early as 527-510 B.C.

The *τρι-* of *Τρίτιος*, 1203<sub>8</sub>, is Indo-European, as also the *τερ-* of Aeolic *τέρτος* in *Τερτικώνειος* and *τέρτα· ἡ τρίτη*; Boeotian *τρίτος*. *Τέταρτος*, 1249<sub>6</sub>; Doric, Ionic, Attic *τέταρτος* as Homeric (also *τέτρατος*); Aeolic, *τετραβαρήων*; Boeot. *πέτρατος*. Nothing can be gained from any attempt at a separation of the dialects into those that have *αρ* and those that have *ρα* from *ερ*. Cf. Brugmann, Grun-driss, § 292.

#### ARCADIAN, AEOLIC, DORIC, AND IONIC-ATTIC.

*ἔσλος*, 1200 (about 450 B.C.). Cf. Sappho, 28; Ionic, I. G. A. 382<sub>1</sub>; Doric according to Greg. Corinth, 213; Ahrens, 112. Not attested in Cyprian.

Arcad. *ἔσδοκά*; Aeolic, Doric, *δέκομαι*; Attic, *δωροδόκος*, *πάνδοκος*. *δέχομαι* is from *δέξομαι*, as *βρέχω* from *βρέξω*. Not attested in Cyprian.

Dative in *-σι* preceded by a vowel (*-εσι*). Arcad. *ἔσδόσεσι*, 1222<sub>16</sub>; unattested in Cyprian. Homeric *ἐπάλξεσιν*, Attic, Cretan *πόλεσι*, all from assumed *-ε* stems.

#### PECULIARITIES OF ARCADIAN.

This section aims at collecting such Arcadisms as have not found entrance into the preceding paragraphs. In it are collected forms that have no precise parallel in other dialects as regard the word in question, or forms that embody phonetic changes occurring but rarely or even nowhere else in Hellas.

1. Fondness for the dental sonant as the representative of *g* before *ε*.

NOTE. — The Doric dialects generally prefer *δ* before an open vowel, e.g. Delphic, Tarentinian, Cretan, Megarian, *ὀδελός*; whereas Boeotian and Homeric (Aeolic?) have *ὀβελός*. Attic has *β* before both *ε* and *ο* (*διωβελία*, *ὀβελός*, C. I. A., IV, 3, c, 5, and *ὀβολός*). Arcadian stands alone in having both *δ* and *ζ* for *g*. It cannot be shown, however, that the rise of *δ* and *ζ* for *g* took place on Peloponnesian soil alone. There is no proof whatsoever of the assumption that Doric forced *δ* into Arcadian, and thereby expelled "Aeolic" *β*, or that Doric caused Cyprian *ζα*, *άζαθός*.

<sup>1</sup> The old inflection maintained its ground in Attic till 350 B.C.

δέρεθρον and ζέρεθρα = Attic βάραθρον, βάραθρα; Homeric βέρεθρον, Θ 14, Aeolic according to Hinrichs, De Hom. eloc. vest. Aeol., p. 62. These forms are found nowhere outside of Arcadian. ἐπιζαρέω, Arcadian according to Eust. 909, 27, occurs also in Euripides. There is no case of ἐπιβάρω.

δέλλω and ζέλλω = βάλλω in Arcadian alone: ἐσδέλλοντες, 1222<sup>49</sup>; ζέλλειν· βάλλειν; ἔξελεν· ἔβαλεν; κάζελε· κατέβαλε. The variation between δ and ζ in this and in the previous word indicates in all probability a μεταπτώσις within the confines of Arcadia.<sup>1</sup>

The forms with ζ appear to be Tegean alone. This δ=ζ is different from δ = I.E. *d*. Before the separation into dialects Greek did not confound *gε-* and *δε-*. Cf. Cypr. σίς = *τις*, p. 117. The Arcadian ζ = δ is found only where the β form prevails in other dialects. Where a Cyprian ζ appears as a dialectic sound, it is the representative of γ in other dialects. There appears to be no connection between this ζ and that of Boeotian and Elean, whether or not the latter was = *th'*.

2. ρ for λ in Κραριῶται πολῖται, 1231 (for Κλαρεῶται by dissimulation, Brugmann, Grundriss, § 266; see Gelbke, p. 18; below, p. 109. Bechtel compares Attic ναγκρᾶρος, which, however, is not connected according to G. Meyer, Curt. Stud. VII, 178. Cypr. Κλαριτά[ων?], 178, is probably connected with the river Κλάριος, near Soloi on Cyprus. The interchange of λ and ρ can scarcely be elevated into a distinguishing mark of agreement or difference between dialects.

3. δαρχμαί, 1222<sup>23, 30</sup>, as in Elean; in other dialects, δραχμαί; δαρχ- is not older than δραχ-, as both are from *ῥ*. Cf. τέταρτος, p. 102.

4. Gen. sing. ᾶ decl. fem. in -av from analogy to the masculine, which has -av in both Arcadian and Cyprian. ζαμίαν from \*ζαμίᾱο, as Ἀπολλωνίδαν; οἰκίαν from \*οἰκῖᾱο (μιστίαν), etc.; cf. p. 65. The fem. article is always τὰς, there being no starting-point for a \*ταῦ. See Leskien, Declination, p. 40; Osthoff, M. U., II, 128; Wilamowitz, Zeitsch. für Gym. Wesen., 1877, p. 13.

6. Dative sing. -εῖ stems. Arcadian has the younger form in πλήθι, 1222<sup>20</sup>. Cf. also ἱράναι, the sole example, together with πλήθι, of itacism in the Arcadian inscriptions, which have εἰ for εἰ. Cyprian has εἰ: ἔλει, 609; ῥέτει, 591. The contraction of ε(τ)ι to ἱ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also πέξα for πέδα, according to Zenodotus both Doric and Arcadian. It is at best a doubtful form. The ζ of ζέλλω ζέρεθρα must be distinguished from Aeolic ζ = δῖ in ζᾶ, Sappho 87 (ζᾶδηλος Alc. 18) and from the Cyprian ζ in κόρζα = Aeolic κάρζα for καρδία (also Aeolic, Sappho, II, 6).

is extremely rare in the Greek dialects. See my paper on *ει, ι*, A. J. P. VI, No. 4.

7. Infinitive *ῆναι*, half-Doric, half-Ionic; see p. 69.

8. *σφείς*, 1222<sub>10</sub>, accus. pl. (see passage quoted on p. 99). The form is certainly not Attic, since it is not used in a reflexive sense. All attempts to show the genesis of the form from \**σφείες* by a contraction of *ι*ε to *ι* are fruitless, until such a phonetic change is well attested for Greek.

9. *ἀπυδόας*, 1222<sub>13</sub>, is a form that has baffled explanation. Curt. Verb.<sup>2</sup> II, 314, thinks it is for \**ἀπο-δό(σ)ας* from \**ῥδοα*, after the pattern of *ἐκηρα*, *ἔχευα*, *εἶπα*; and so Beermann, in Curt. Stud. IX, 78. Aorists without *σ* are found in inscriptions from Elis, Argos, Sparta, and in late Cyprian. Spitzer thinks *ἀποδοῶς* stands for \**ἀπυδοαυς* < *ἀπυδοαντς*, comparing *τός* < *τόνς*.

NOTE. — Cyprian has apparently a modification of *ῥδω* in *δυνάνοι*, if a different root is not at the base of this remarkable form. See p. 114.

10. -δε for -δα in *θύρδα* · *ἔξω* · *Ἀρκάδες*.

11. -ται for -ται, perhaps from analogy to -το; cf. Thess. -τει, and p. 86.

12. *ἐφθορκός*, 1222<sub>10</sub>, contains the regular ablaut form of *ερ*, the *ορ* here not being the so-called Aeolic equivalent of *ρα* or *αρ*.<sup>1</sup> Curtius was the first to call special attention to the love of "dark" vowels in dialects connected with Aeolic (*Bemerkungen zur gr. Dialektologie* Gött. Nachr., 1862 = *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 156, 157). Since his time this has been held as a criterion of the connection of Boeotian (*Καλλίστροτος, πόρνοψ*), Thessalian (*στροταγέντος, κόρνοψ*), and Cyprian (*κόρζα* = *καρδία*). But it is probable that to this assumed mint-mark of Aeolism too much importance has been attached. Thus *τέτορθαι* and *μέμορθαι* contain, as does pan-Hellenic *ἔπορον*, the regular ablaut form of *ερ*.<sup>2</sup> *ἀστροπῶ* = Attic *στραπή* may contain the ablaut of *στερπ*, etc. No investigation of sufficient thoroughness dealing with the dialect appearances of *ορ*, *ρο* : *αρ*, *ρα* has as yet been instituted from this point of view. If *ορ* or *ρο* is Aeolic for *αρ* or *ρα*, it cannot have been a phonetic change called into being by the operation of a law that necessitated an *ορ* or *ρο* in every weak form. Thus we have Cyprian *κόρζα*, but Aeolic *κάρζα* and *καρδίαν*. Or, if this be nevertheless maintained, the result is that Arcadian<sup>3</sup> and Thessalian

<sup>1</sup> See Spitzer, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss*, § 292, holds to their Aeolic character.

<sup>3</sup> Neither *στρατο-* nor *στροτο-* is preserved in the Cyprian.

*στρατο-*, by the side of Aeolic *στροτάγω* and Boeotian *ἐστροτεύαθη*, must be explained as loan formations from Doric. Or the law must have been so overcome by forces of analogy, and at so early date, that it is no "law" at all. See Tarbell's paper on Phonetic Law, in the Transactions, Vol. XVII, p. 10.

NOTE. — That the dialects of non-Aeolic coloring present examples of *ορ* for the weak *αρ*, where the "Aeolic" dialects have *αρ*, e.g. Arcad. *γραφής*, shows that this assumed Aeolic peculiarity often fails at a critical point. Cf. Doric *τέτορες*; Meg. Argol. *γραφ-*; Arcad. *γραφής*.<sup>1</sup> Where *ορ* may be the regular strong form of *ερ*, then the "Aeolic" dialects fall into line. Only with the widest latitude may we assume that Aeolic in the strict sense, Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian, and Cyprian have a predilection for the "dark" vowel *ο*.

13. *ο* for *α* occurs also in *ἐκοτόν* in *Ἐκοτόμβουα*, 1222<sub>23</sub>; *Ἐκοτόνβουα*, 1232<sub>9</sub>. No other dialect except Arcadian has this form. *ἐκοτόν* is not to be regarded as an example of an "Aeolic" love of *ο* in place of *α*, since that conclusion rests upon a mere external comparison of the Arcadian and the common form. As *δεκόταν*, 1198, owes its *ο* to the *ο* of *-κοντα*, so, too, does *ἐκοτόν*. It is noticeable to observe the conflict of tendencies within the limits of a single dialect. *δεκόταν* and *ἐκοτόν* have both fallen under the sway of the frequently recurring *-κοντα*; yet *τριακάσιοι*, which stood in closer touch with *-κοντα*, has maintained its ancient vocalism, though Ionic, Attic, and Aeolic have permitted the corresponding word to be swept along with the current of analogy. Cf. Spitzer, p. 11.

We now pass to an attempt at displaying the points of divergence between Arcadian and Cyprian from the Cyprian point of view. It may be impossible to prove that in possessing a certain form, or in giving scope to a certain phonetic law, Cyprian may have deviated from the Arcado-Cyprian norm. The deviation may have been Arcadian, and not Cyprian. The age of the monuments is too late to permit us definitely to ascribe to Arcado-Cyprian a form which in Cyprian differs from Arcadian, and which is preserved upon an Arcadian inscription older than the Cyprian one in question. Furthermore, the paucity of materials in each dialect is singularly noticeable. At the present day we have but about nine hundred words preserved to us in Arcadian, and but

<sup>1</sup> Elean has both *γροφ-* and *γραφ-*, the latter more frequently. Cf. also El. *κοθάρσι*, Locr. *περφοθαριᾶν*.



about five hundred in Cyprian, inscriptions. On the age of the few older Arcadian inscriptions, see Roberts, § 107. The wide universality of their interrelations with dialects of variant types is too great to permit conclusions as to the existence or non-existence of any given form in either of the dialects.

#### CYPRIAN AND AEOLIC.

1.  $\mu$  for  $\beta$  in *κυμερῆναι*, 68; cf. Et. Mag. 543<sub>2</sub>; Et. Gud. 351<sub>9</sub>. *κυβερνήτης* · ἀναλόγως οἱ Αἰολεῖς *κυμερνήτην* λέγουσιν. *κυμερῆναι* with Ionic -*ναι* (on Arcado-Cyprian Homeric -*ναι*, see p. 69) from \**κυμερέω* or \**κυμεράω*, parallel form to *κυβερνάω*.<sup>1</sup> Deecke (B. B., VI, 81) compares Cyprian *Τρεμιθοῦς* from *τρέμιθος* = *τερέβινθος*. This word and others (e.g. Aeolic *βάρμιτον* = *βάρβιτον*<sup>2</sup>), containing a supposed interchange of  $\mu$  and  $\beta$ , are all uncertain. The certain interrelation of  $\mu$  and  $\beta$  is, however, not confined solely to Cyprian and to Aeolic, as it comes to light in Rhodian *περιβολιβῶσαι* (Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 176<sub>10</sub>), and (chiefly) in Hesychian glosses (G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 180).

In *ἱρῶνι*, 60<sub>8</sub>, we have the contraction of  $\iota\epsilon$  to be observed in Aeolic *ἱρος* (if not, as is probable, from *ἱσρ*-, according to Osthoff, M. U., IV, 149). Cyprian has also *ἱερός* and *ἱαρός*, though the latter form is not so well attested. Arcadian, too, has both forms. A supposed contraction of  $\iota\epsilon$  to  $\bar{\iota}$  in Aeolic and Cyprian has no bearing on an Arcado-Cyprian connection with Aeolic, since *ἱρός* is also Ionic (Homer, exclusively in Herodotean usage, Thasos, Cauer,<sup>2</sup> 527<sub>9</sub>).

Several points of supposed connection between Cyprian and Aeolic may here be briefly alluded to.

*ἔκερσε*, 32; cf. N 546, K 456, Aspis 419, and in Aeschylus. For a list of aorists with  $\rho\varsigma$  and  $\lambda\varsigma$ , see Curt. Verb.<sup>2</sup> II, 299. Similar formations in the future are called Aeolic by the grammarians (quoted Meister, Dialekte, I, p. 182) on account of their barytone character, but for no cogent reason whatever.

The Aeolic form is *πέντε*, not *πέμπε*, as has long been assumed (see Meister, in *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 10). Neither the Cyprian

<sup>1</sup> Ground forms are (1) *ῥ<sup>u</sup>μέρ* = *κυμερ*-, *κυμερῆναι*; (2) *ῥ<sup>u</sup>mr* = *κυβερ*-, *κυβαρ*-. From *ῥ<sup>u</sup>ῃζ* + *na* + *en* = *κυβαρνᾶν*. *κυβερ*- received its *ερ* from *κυμερ*-. On -*mr*- or -*mz*- yielding -*βρ*-, -*βαρ*- (and not -*μβρ*-) in the middle of a word, see Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Ahrens, I, p. 45, together with *κυμερνήτης* as a doubtful example of an Aeolic change of  $\beta$  to  $\mu$ .

πε(μ)φαμέρων<sup>1</sup> (gen. sing.) nor the Alcaean πέμπων (33) presupposes πέμπε, since \*πενγ- stands before a dark vowel, as in Homeric πεμπώβολον. There is no need to correct Sappho's πεντεβόγη (frag. 98), or to regard any form with πεντ- as borrowed from the κοινή (πεντάμναιον, Coll. 276). πέντε is pan-Hellenic, and τ prevailed originally in all dialects before ε; later on, forms like πεντώβολος and πεντάς came into existence from a confusion with π- forms (πεμπάς, etc.), in the same manner as π in πέσσαρες, πείσει, took the place of τ.

Cyprian and Aeolic have ζ for δι- of other dialects, when the accent did not fall originally on the syllable with ι. Aeolic ζά-, κάρζα; Paphian κόρζα; Arcadian διακωλύοι and δι- in every case.

### CYPRIAN AND THESSALIAN.

A remarkable case of similarity between Cyprian and Thessalian is found in Cyprian, πείσει, 60<sup>12, 25</sup>; Thessal. πεισάτου = τεισάτω. Arcadian has here ἀπυτειέτω, 1222<sup>43</sup>; ἀπυτεισάτω, 1222<sup>35</sup>: cf. ἔστεισιν, 1222<sup>37</sup>; Τείσανδρος, 1234; Τείσιμος, 1247; Τεισιμάχ[ω], 1247; as Locrian, Cretan, ἀποτείσει; Heracl. ἀποτεισεῖ; old Attic, ἀπο]τεῖσαι; Delphic, προτέτεκεν. The Cyprian and Thessalian form is later as regards the labial instead of the dental before ει, since π of πείσει was taken from that of ποινή and \*πέπομα after the separation of Cyprian and Arcadian. The Thessalian form only proves that a similar phonetic leveling can take place in two dialects without the influence of one upon the other. Thessalian πεισάτου came into existence after all immediate connection between Thessalian and Aeolic or Boeotian had ceased. It is absurd with Brand (p. 62) to postulate a pan-Aeolic πει-, or to assume a pan-Aeolic preference for labial sounds where the older dialects have dentals or gutturals.

A further example of parallelism between the dialects in the field of palatal sounds is doubtful: Thessal. κίς = τίς, but κέ = τέ in Cyprian is open to grave suspicion. See Deecke in Bezenberger's Beiträge, VIII, 153; Brugmann in Techmer's Zeitschrift für allg. Sprachw., I, 233.

No immediate connection between Cyprian and Thessalian can be maintained on the score of the accusatives, ἀ(ν)δριγά(ν)ταν, 59; ἰγα-τῆραν, 60<sup>3</sup>. The Larissaeen inscription, 1332<sup>40</sup>, has κίοναν from κίων. This analogical formation on the lines of the *Â* declension occurs in Cratylus, 404 B, Δήμητραν (Schanz, Δήμητρα), and in the epigraphic

<sup>1</sup> So Deecke; G. Meyer, πε(μ)πόμερων.

forms in Kaibel: *πατέραν*, 372; *μητέραν*, 522; *λιμέναν*, 168 Thessaly; *νεότηταν*, 368; *πατρίδαν*, 920; *ἄνδραν*, C. I. G. 1781, Thessaly. According to Franz, *ἀνδρειάνταν*, according to Kaibel (No. 406), *ἀνδρειάντ*. Cf. Sturz, *De dialecto Macedonica*, p. 127. The Cyprian forms quoted above are in general older than those adduced from Kaibel and the Corpus according to Wagner (*Quaest. de epigram.*, p. 107).

Ahrens (*Philol.* XXXV, 13) and Neubauer (*Comm. phil. in honor. Mommseni* p. 280), are in error in regarding Thessalian and Cyprian on a plane in the possession of the rarer form of the name of Apollo. See above, p. 97. Thessalian *\*Ἀπλουν* (= *\*Ἀπλων*) is certain, but *\*Ἀπόλ(λ)ων* is in every case the Cyprian form according to the transcribers, though the other form is not impossible. See Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, IX, 328.

Curtius held that the Cyprians and Thessalians changed *ω* to *ου*. Of the examples that he quotes, *\*Ἀπλουν* does not exist in Cyprian, and *ἐρουά* = *ἐρωή* (cf. *ἄλουᾶ κήπῳ* = Hom. *ἄλωῃ*) cannot be regarded as an example of that *ου* which in Thessalian has supplanted every case of *ω*. *ω* in the Cyprian inscriptions never becomes *ου*.

#### CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, THESSALIAN.

Infinitive in *-ην*.

The Cyprian form *ε·κε·νε*, 60<sub>10</sub>, has been differently transcribed. The *-εν* of Arcadian has led some to claim that the Cyprian form is *ἐχεν*, and hence of Doric coloring; but Deecke now writes *ἐχην*. *-ην* is exceedingly frequent in Aeolic even in the aorist passive, and in the Pharsalian idiom we have *ἐχαιν*, which is for *ἐχην*. Thess. *ει* = *η*. The other divisions of Thessaly have *-μεν*. The Elean form is likewise *-ην*, according to Blass, *Coll.* 1153, 1156.

*δν* = *ἀνά* has already been referred to, p. 88.

#### CYPRIAN AND BOEOTIAN.

The genitive in *-ᾶο* (Homeric and Boeotian) is exceptional in Cyprian, e.g. *Κυπραγόραο*, 79; *Δαγατίσαο*, 58. Arcadian and Cyprian have generally *-αν*. Forms like *Σωκλείδα* in Boeotian are very rare, as in Cyprian, cf. *Ἀμηνίῳ*, 60<sub>18</sub>.

*\*Υφι*, 124, from *Υεύς* (or *\*Υης*?). This agrees with the Boeot. ending *ει < ηι* (e.g. *Φωκεῖν*). *ηι* from *ην* stems is Homeric, Ionic, Attic, Doric *-ει*, and never *ηι*.

Cyprian, Boeotian, (and Doric) proper names in  $-i\tilde{a}s$  for  $-\epsilon\tilde{a}s$  are not infrequent. A certain explanation of their interrelation has, however, not yet been given.

#### CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, AND BOEOTIAN.

$\alpha + \epsilon = \eta$  in Doric, North Greek, and perhaps in Elean. In Cyprian, Aeolic, Boeotian, and Ionic, the result of the contraction is  $\tilde{a}$ . Johansson, p. 58, is doubtful whether there was not an Arcado-Cyprian contraction of  $\alpha + \epsilon$  to  $\eta$ . We have no certain example in Arcadian. Johansson explains  $\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha$ , Coll. 49, by the suggestion that Cyprian, after its separation from Arcadian, may have adopted vowel contractions different from those prevalent in the Arcado-Cyprian period.  $\iota\gamma\hat{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , 60<sub>3</sub>, is also cited by Johansson as a possible example of the later contraction. But neither Johansson nor Spitzer has any right to suppose *a priori* that Arcadian would agree with Doric in contracting  $\alpha + \epsilon$  to  $\eta$ . Furthermore, Hall, Rev. A. O. S., XI, 217, says that Deecke's transcription of No. 49 is nearly all wrong. He himself reads . . . *pa·ti·sa·to·ro*.

$\epsilon\rho$  occurs in Cyprian, Aeolic (gramm.), Boeotian, and in Elean. It does not appear on any Doric monument.

#### CYPRIAN, BOEOTIAN, THESSALIAN.

Arcadian and Elean do not change  $\epsilon$  to  $\iota$  before vowels, though  $\epsilon\nu$  + consonant has become  $iv$ .<sup>1</sup> In Cyprian the change is well attested:  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ , 60<sub>23</sub>;  $\iota\acute{o}(\nu)\tau\alpha$ , 60<sub>23</sub>;  $\epsilon\pi\iota\acute{o}(\nu)\tau\alpha$ , 60<sub>19</sub>;  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\gamma\alpha\nu$ , 60<sub>27</sub>;  $\theta\iota\tilde{\omega}$ , 37 ( $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ , 27). In fact, every  $\epsilon$  before  $\alpha$  or  $o$  becomes  $\iota$ , except when  $\epsilon$  has disappeared between  $\epsilon$  and  $o$ , e.g.  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}os$ , or where  $-\epsilon os$  is from  $\epsilon(\sigma)os$ , nom.  $-\eta s$ , e.g.  $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon os$  and in  $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon os$ ,  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon os$ , Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1886, p. 1291.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$  in No. 20, if for  $*\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ , would offer the sole exception to the rule that  $\epsilon$  becomes  $\iota$  in Cyprian only before a vowel.<sup>2</sup> Deecke's reading, which he himself finds remarkable on account of the preservation of the intervocalic  $\sigma$  (Zweiter Nachtrag in B. B., VIII), must therefore yield

<sup>1</sup>  $\kappa\rho\alpha\rho\iota\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha\iota$ , 1231, B 35, etc., is referred by Gelbke, p. 18, to Doric influence. Instances of  $\epsilon$  are  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{o}\tau\omicron s$ , 1222<sub>11</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon os$ , 1231, C 7;  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon os$ , 1231, C 21;  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon os$ , 1248<sub>5</sub>.  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha s$  by the side of  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha s$  is of course not a case of change of  $\epsilon$  to  $\iota$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ , Arcad. 1203<sub>18</sub>, seems to offer some contradiction. But  $\epsilon + s +$  cons. may become  $\iota$  in all dialects. Lesbian and Attic alone have  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ; Hom., Ion., Locr., Boeot., Cret., Herac., have  $\iota\sigma\tau-$ .

to κατέθιγαν, as the sign *sa*· is not far removed from that for *ya*· Johansson (Några ord, etc., p. 31) assumes κατέθιγαν < κατέθιαν < κατέθισαν.

The Cyprian dialect in its substitution of *ι* for *ε* before a vowel is on a plane with Boeotian (the chief seat of the change), Thessalian (except in the inscription from Larissa), and with Doric to a limited degree, viz., especially in -εω verbs, θεός, κλέος, πλέων, forms of -ες stems, etc. (Laconian, Messenian, Cretan, Argolic, Heracleian). In Aeolic the supposed change of *ε* to *ι* is limited to words like χρύσιος, χάλκιος, μαρμάριος, which lend themselves to a different explanation as regards the *ι*, and in the gen. γλύκιος; cf. p. 84.

The difference in the treatment of antevocalic *ε* is one of the most noticeable mint-marks distinguishing Arcadian from Cyprian. The Arcadian type has remained true to an Arcado-Cyprian preservation of antevocalic *ε*. The *ι* for *ε* must in any theory of a pan-Aeolic dialect be regarded as subsequent to the separation into sub-dialects. Wherever the substitution of *ι* for *ε* occurs, it is to be regarded as the effect of a tendency obtaining to a greater or less degree throughout Greece, and is merely more prevalent in the dialects of the "Aeolic" type. Even in old Attic we have Αἰνῶται, Αἰλιᾶται. In Ionic the change is expressed by ει (εἰαντόν, ἐννεῖα). In Boeotian and Ionic-Attic the *ε* remained a closed *ε*: Boeot. *ε*, ει, ι; Ionic-Attic, *ε*, ει.

#### CYPRIAN, AEOLIC, THESSALIAN, BOEOTIAN.

Absence of *ν* ἐφέλκυστικόν from all prose non-κοινή inscriptions is the only feature common to these four dialects.<sup>1</sup> The Arcadian dialect has [ἀνέ]θηκε[ν], according to Bechtel (No. 1218); ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν in an epigram (Roberts, No. 280) is an epic reminiscence. All other cases of this verbal form occur at the end of the inscriptions and have no -ν. ἔδοξεν (1183<sub>1,6</sub> = Roberts, 283) is the only certain case of *ν* in a verbal form, and that in the inscription containing Ἀλειῶσι (p. 84). Roberts, p. 281, holds that Alea is referred to. No. 1183, it should be remarked, was found at Olympia, but Elean has no paragogic *ν*. -ν in ἀναλώμασιν μῆ, 1222<sub>41</sub>, is the only example in noun formations in Arcadian.

Whether the presence of -ν in these two forms is to be ascribed to Laconian influence is doubtful. In the oldest Spartan inscriptions it

<sup>1</sup> A recently discovered Cyprian example is: ἔστασε Ἀριστος, Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1291. But the Tarmassus inscription has ἔδωκεν, δνέθηκεν, the only examples in Cyprian; l. l., 1886, p. 1323.

is not present, but as it is frequent in those of later date, and in the Heracleian tablets, the possibility of Doric influence here cannot be authoritatively denied.

### CYPRIAN, IONIC-ATTIC.

There is no case of  $\eta$  for  $\bar{a}$ , except, perhaps, Ἰαλεφήμω, Hall, Rev. A. O. S., XI, 234.

πρωτωτίμω contains the contraction of  $o + a$  to  $\omega$ . Aeolic examples of *πρώτος* are now generally ascribed to the influence of Hellenistic scribes or stone-cutters. Neither *πρώτος* nor *πῶτος* occurs in Arcadian. The latter form is that to be expected.

Ἀμύ(ν)τω, 41, and Εὐφαγόρω, 153, 154 (410-374 B.C.), are referred by Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 345, to Ionic influence. This is, perhaps, better than to regard them as drawn over to the O declension in the same fashion as Homeric ἡύκομος from κόμη, and ἐϋμελίω from μελία. Cf. Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 325.

On  $a + \epsilon = \bar{a}$  in Cyprian, see above, p. 81, and on  $-\eta$  in  $-\eta\nu$ -stems, see above, p. 108.

Cyprian *ὄτε*, *πότε* as in Ionic-Attic. Aeolic *ὄτα*, Doric *πόκα*, Elean *τόκα*, Pamphyl. *ὄκα*, Abu-Simb. *ὄκα*. We do not know whether Arcadian *μεστ'* is for *μέστα* or *μέστε*. Brand's assumption (p. 34) that the Cyprian forms in *τε* are descended from a pan-Aeolic *τα* is certainly wide of the mark, as they represent the original *-qe*. The Aeolic *τα* is itself later than either *-τε* or *-κα*.

ἀρούραι, 60<sub>20</sub> (*a · ro · u · ra · i ·*), implies the existence of a genuine diphthong *ou*; and this is assumed by Fick (*Odyssee*, p. 324); cf. Leo Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> p. 674. But if we compare ἀρο[ρ]ηι, I. G. A. 497, b. 17 (Teos), the parallel forms to Ionic ἀρούρη in Doric and Aeolic would be ἀρώρα<sup>1</sup> and ἄρορρα. It must be confessed that the etymology of ἀρούρα is too uncertain to permit the statement that we have here a loan form from Ionic. ὄρα as extracted from ἐσόρα · ὄπισθεν, which is claimed by Rothe to be Paphian (for οὐρά, *tail*), has a very shadowy existence. To further complicate matters, we have a Miletan ὠρή = οὐρά (Revue archéol., 1874, p. 100). ἀρούρ[as] occurs on a Thessalian inscription, Coll. No. 371. Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 14, incorrectly calls ἀρούρα for γῆ old Ionic and poetic. See A. J. P. VIII, 469.

With the frequent names in Ὀνα- (Ὀναίων, Ὀνασις, Ὀνάσιλος, etc.), cf. the Ionic δνήϊστος (ὄναιον · ἄρειον).

<sup>1</sup> ἀρωραῖοι, Acharnians, 762, was expelled by Ahrens, who adopted the reading of the Rav., ἀρουραῖοι.

## CYPRIAN AND DORIC.

1. Compensatory lengthening in τῶς (but see p. 86) and in ἡμί in twenty cases; in one of these, No. 93, Voigt reads ξμ(μ)ι Σηθικᾶ, following Neubauer's transcription. The transcribers, however, have generally decided against the Aeolic and Thessalian form; and Hall, Rev. A. O. S., XI, 228, accepts ἡμί here as elsewhere.

2. Contraction of εο to ω in Νωμηνίων = Νουμηνίου, cf. νεροστάτας, 592 (Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1323), and in σπέως, 31, 32, if Deecke's reading be correct. I would prefer σπήως, from \*σπέφεσος. ω < εο is found on Doric soil in Cretan monuments alone: παρακαλώμενα, εὐχαριστῶμες. εο in Aeolic = εο, ευ, (Ionic influence?) never ω. ε + ο in Arcado-Cyprian remain uncontracted in gen. sing. of -ης stems. ε remains before ο and ω in Arcadian in Κλεονόμω, Θεοτέλεος.

3. The Doric genitive in ā (if the α does not, as Deecke claims, represent αυ) is found in Ἀμηνίγα, 60<sub>18</sub>, Ὀνασιμάλα, 120. The Ζωτέα of Deecke, No. 77, is read by Hall, Ζωτή[ς]. Ζωτέα occurs, No. 122, apparently as a genitive. Ἀριστίγα, Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1643.

4. On Cyprian ποῶ, see p. 67.

5. Expulsion of secondary, intervocalic σ is foreign to Arcadian, but occurs in Cyprian, Laconian, Elean, and Argolic. The examples are διμῳίς, 69 = διμούσοις and φρονέωί, 68, which should be φρονίγωί, or, at least in certain parts of the island (Chytrea), φρονίωί. The subjunctive is here used without κέ (ἄν does not occur), as in Homer and elsewhere in relative sentences. This is the first epigraphic example of the secondary loss of σ, a phenomenon attested by Hesychian glosses, ἱμαδὴν· πάταξον, ἱμπάταδὴν· ξμβλεψον, etc. (M. Schmidt, in K. Z., IX, 367). In all other cases, intervocalic σ is preserved intact in Cyprian: κατέστασε, λύσαι, λύση. Cf. Laconian ἐποίηέ, I. G. A. 80, Elean ποήασσαι = ποιήσασθαι, Argolic ἐποίη-ηέ, I. G. A. 42. The Cyprian forms without the σ are only apparent survivals of the period in which σ disappeared regularly between vowels in the aorist, and not, as Osthoff maintains, a residuum of that period. See Müller, De Σ inter vocales posita, pp. 80, 81. In his Kleine Schriften, II, 152, Curtius suggests that the loss of σ in Laconian is due to dialect mixture.

## CYPRIAN-ÆOLIC, DORIC, IONIC, ATTIC.

-*ην* is accusative of -*ες* stems: ἀτελὴν, 60<sub>10</sub>. This analogical phenomenon, though not occurring in every dialect in Greece, is sufficiently general to be recognized as a universal feature of Greek morphology. As a rule, the influence of the *Â* declension makes itself apparent only in the later period of the development of the language, though it comes to light as early as the time of Homer (ζαῖην or ζάην). Attic Σωκράτην, Ionic Λυσικλῆν, Cretan Ἴεροκλῆν, Boeot. Διογένειν, Aeolic δαμοτέλην.<sup>1</sup> Arcadian has no similar metaplastic accusative. Wagner, Quaest. gramm. de epigrammatis, pp. 107, 108, has collected the examples from Kaibel's Epigrammata, embracing forms from Halicarnassus, Sardis, Athens, and Thebes. Tauromenium and Pamphylia have -*ην* in the adjectival flexion.

## PECULIARITIES OF CYPRIAN.

In this section a list of some of the chief peculiarities of the Cyprian epigraphic forms has been attempted, and explanations given when possible. Rothe's Quaestiones de Cypriorum dialecto et vetere et recentiore has never progressed beyond a partial examination of the vowel relations of the Cyprian glosses.

## I. Vowels.

ἐρ in Hesychian glosses: κατ' ἐρ' ἔξει· κάθισαι, Πάφιοι. κατ' ἐρ' ἔξει· κατέζον. κατ' ἐρ' ἔξετο· ἐκαθίζετο.<sup>2</sup> G. Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 55, regards ἐρ (without the apostrophe) as the strong form of ἄρα, ἄρ, ῥά. Spitzer, pp. 7, 8, holds that ἐρα may be a contamination of \*ἐρ and ἄρα. Cf. Bloomfield, A. J. P., VI, 44 ff.; Brugmann, Berichte der Sächsisch. Gesell. der Wissensch., 1883, p. 37 ff. With this strong form compare -κρέτης and p. 90. This gloss is apparently derived from a text of Homer in vogue in Cyprus (probably not ἡ Κυπρία). On the Arcadian form ἄρ or ἄρ', see Roberts, No. 277, and above, p. 80.

In τέρχυνα, 60<sub>9</sub>, 18-19, 22 compared with τρέχνος and τέρχνεα (Hesychius), we have an instance of metathesis without vowel-lengthening that appears to be restricted to no particular dialect. If ταραχάνιον·

<sup>1</sup> Analogy of *Â* stems: Genitive -ου in Attic, Delphic, Cnidos, Thasos, Scyros, etc.; gen. in η in Aeolic alone. Dat. η in Aeolic. Voc. in η, Arcadian, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius held ἐρ to be Arcadian. But I find this unattested.



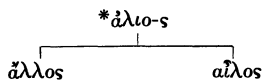
ἐντάφιον and τέρχνεα· ἐντάφια (besides φντὰ νέα) do not contain a confusion of two separate words, τέρχνεα is another example of the Cyprian fondness for ερ.

In Σελαμινί[ων, 176, 177, and Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1886, p. 1291, compared with Σαλαμίνιος, 148, we have an interchange of ε and α which cannot be controlled by any known parallels in Cyprian. Deecke suggests that Σελ- recalls the Assyrian form of the name of the city of Silhimi, and is evidence in favor of Semetic influence (Josephus mentions a Σελαμίν in Galilaea). But Dr. Hall has suggested to me that the ε may be an orthographical slip. Its appearance is too extensive to assume this with certainty. In any case, it is unwise to deduce from its appearance any such far-reaching conclusion as that of Deecke.

The relation of ω to υ in δυράνοι, 60<sub>6</sub> = διδοίη, is not established. δώκοι occurs 60<sub>16</sub>. δυράνοι shows that the υ from υ υ had not become extinct; Brugmann, Grundriss, § 166. Cf. also Chalc. Γαρυφύνης. On the assumed change of ω to ου in Cyprian, see p. 108. Rothe, p. 72, finds no certain case of ω for υ in the glosses.

αἴλων (= ἄλλων), 60<sub>14</sub>; cf. Arcad. ἄλλοις and ἄλλος in all other Greek dialects. αἰλότερον· ἄλλοιότροπον occurs in Hesychius, who, however, names no source. In Et. Mag. 34<sub>10</sub>, for αἶλα, ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὰ Κύπριοι, read ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄλλα.

An Elean αἶλος cannot be upheld, since in ΑΙΑΟΤΡΙΑ, 1154<sub>2</sub> (an exceedingly corrupt inscription) I is, according to Blass, *entweder zu streichen (Roehl) oder in Δ zu corrigieren (die Inschrift hat freilich keine Verdoppelung)*. ἄλλοιρ occurs in Elean, 1172; cf. πᾶλλα, 1152. Cyprian seems here to have bifurcated from Arcadian in choosing a form that preserves, though in the tonic syllable, the ι, which was the cause of the geminated liquid of every other dialect. But instead of the genealogical tree commonly adopted and vigorously defended by Meinck, De epenthesis graeca, p. 41,



we must assume that the original Cyprian form was not different from the Arcadian, and that αιλ is merely a secondary development from αλλ. See Spitzer, p. 34, and Weinhold, Alleman. gram., 138; Baier. gram., p. 183.<sup>1</sup> Cases of mouillization which might be adduced

<sup>1</sup> It would at least be extremely hazardous to deny on the score of this form alone that ἄλλος was formed from αἶλος before the separation of the parent Greek

from the Romance languages (Fr. *ail*, It. *aglio* > *allium*; *merveille*, *meraviglia* > *mirabilia*; *meilleur*, *migliore* > *meliores*) are only apparent parallels, the presence of *i* after *l* being necessary in order that it be drawn into the tonic syllable. In the dialect of Crete, *λ* before a consonant was pronounced as *ℓ*, and as such is represented by *υ*; cf. *αὐκά* = *ἀλκή*, *θεύγω* = *θέλγω*. It is therefore not impossible that a somewhat similar affection may have formed an *αἶλος*, which cannot then be regarded as an example of epenthesis.

It should not be suppressed that Brand (De dialectis Aeolicis, p. 50) has attempted on the strength of *αἶλος* and *αἰλότρια* to formulate the law *a ante liquidam positum non in a longum sed in a produxisse*. This cannot be accepted, nor can his explanation that *χαίρω*, *μέλαινα* result from compensatory lengthening, and not from epenthesis.

*av* in \**ἀμαύω* in *Νοσταμαύσα*[*ντος*], Deecke, B. B., IX, 251; cf. *ἀμεύω*, *ἀμενσίπορος*.

*ρήπω μέγα* in 68 is regarded as an aorist, not as a present by Deecke, who translates: *Ein grosses will ich verkunden*. Hall, in his review of Deecke's collection (A. O. S., XI, 220), holds to the present: *I speak a great thing*. Deecke (Bezz. Beitr., VI, 79) rejects Ahrens' *ρέπω*, and maintains that *η* for *ε* is regular in Cyprian. I cannot regard this as correct. *ἔπω* has the genuine diphthong *ει*, and as such is written with *EI* on pre-Euclidian Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans, p. 79) and on the monuments of other dialects (Smyth, Diphthong *EI*, pp. 57, 60).<sup>1</sup> The *ε* is therefore not the result of contraction (*ἐφέρεπον*), but from *ε* + *ι* (*ἐφέρεῖπον*). Priscian's (I, 54) so-called Aeolic *ῆπον* is a blunder for *ῆπον*, because the absence of *ι* *ἀνεκφώνητον* was regarded by the grammarians as a peculiarity of Aeolic (Meister., I, 71). Now there can be no question that in no period except the itacistic was genuine *ε* confounded with *η* > *ε* + *ε* in any Greek dialect;<sup>2</sup> and that in Cyprian this should have been into dialects. In Greek, epenthesis took place before the dialect period. The Cyprian *Ἀπείλωνι* is, I conjecture, to be explained in like fashion with *αἶλος*. That this is the only possible explanation for the *ει* form, occurred to me before reading Deecke's similar suggestion in the Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1886, p. 217.

<sup>1</sup> On the Gortynian inscription, we have *προφειπάτω*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This must hold good despite Arcado-Cyprian *ἀμην-* (Arcad. *Ἀμηνέας*; Cypr. *Ἀμηνία*; cf. Amorg. *Ἀμείνον[ι]*, I. G. A. 390). Arcadian *Πλήστλερος* *Πλειστέρος*. C. I. G. has no case of *Πληστ-* except *Πληστονείκα*, 1506 (Sparta), with the ominous *ex schedis Fourmonti*: *Πλειστονίκης*, 1363, 1364 b, 2810 b, add., 2813. Cf. above, p. 93. Cypr. *ἥ*, "if," has been explained above, p. 72, as either = *ἥ(ν)* or as a separate form. It is not a Cyprian form of *ει*.

the case is incredible, and is in fact disproved by the diphthongal orthography *pe·i·se·i* = *πίσει*. Spurious *ei* became diphthongal in Attica about 380 B.C., but there is no proof that the sound resulting from the contraction of *ε* + *ε* (admitting for the moment that *ἔφερον*, or even *ῥέφερον*, was the source of *εἶπον*) — a sound different from that of the Attic spurious *ei* — ever became diphthongal in Cyprian.

In every case *EI* remains a genuine diphthong: *αἰρεῖ*, *εῖσις*, *ἔλει*, *ἔτει*, *ῥέτει*, *εὐχαρεῖτε*, *φεικόν*, *πείσει*.<sup>1</sup> In Arcadian genuine *ei* remains except in *πλήθι*, *ἱράναι*. This shows, to my thinking, that whatever we may think of the characters *ve·po·*, and however much we may be inclined to ascribe the *η* of *ῥήπω* to an irresolute orthography, a Cyprian change of genuine *ei* to *η* is not regular. Allusion has already been made above, p. 68, to the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory explanation of *πότι*, "lord," in the same line; and as regards the hexameters, which Deecke insists on to the discomfiture of Ahrens' *ῥέπω*, Hall remarks that they are not clear according to his more certain transliteration, the characters having gradually become plainer since the time the stone was exhumed.

## II. Consonants.

ζ for γ in *ἄλαθαι*, 37, 59, and in *ζαι* = *γαι*; cf. Arcad. *γαν*, Doric *δαι*, Et. Mag. 60<sub>8</sub>. The γ in the latter word is probably palatal, cf. Zend *zāo*, Lith. *žemė*, Slav. *zemlja*, K. Z., XXV, 146. Johansson in B. B. XIII, 117, has resurrected the old etymology, — Goth. *gods*. The substitution of ζ for γ in *ἄλαθός* may stand in connection with the spirant pronunciation of γ prevalent from the second century B.C. This, though exceedingly doubtful, is better than to regard the ζ as originating in like manner with the palatal spirants of the Aryan and Slavo-Lettic languages. See K. Z., XXV, 150.

NOTE 1. — Cypr. *καλήζω* is not necessarily a proof that ζ is a representative of *yod*.

NOTE 2. — ι between vowels was thickened to γ, or at least could be represented by γ in *θάγον* = Ionic *θεήιον*. Cf. Heracl. *ποτικαίγωσα*.

In all dialects there was heard a parasitic glide sound between *i* and a following vowel.<sup>2</sup> This sound assumes graphic expression, with the exception of Pamphylian, in Cyprian alone, but even there with

<sup>1</sup> *FE* *λεδάμω*, 117, is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> In Boeotian *ἀνέθειαν*, *ει* represents a closed *ε*, and not *ε* + *i*, a distinct glide sound. On the development of intervocalic *i* in several dialects, e.g. Attic *θειοῖν*, *εἰάν*, etc., cf. above, p. 110.

no great consistency. Thus in the inscriptions from Dali it is found fifteen times, of which thirteen occur in No. 60,<sup>1</sup> two in No. 59.<sup>2</sup> It is not written in Γολγίαι in 61, nor in ἐπιό(ν)τα, 60<sub>9,10,22</sub>; ἰό(ν)τα, 60<sub>23</sub>; πανώνιον, 60<sub>10</sub>; πανωνίω, 60<sub>22</sub>: nor in Κετίων, 59; Κετιέρες, 60<sub>1</sub>; ἀ(ν)-δριά(ν)ταν, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1886, p. 1323; elsewhere always with γ. From *Chytréa* we have no γοδ in Παφίας Παφίαί, 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, following Hall's corrections, nor any in ἱερῆφος in No. 1. *Kerynia* has both Παφίγας, 15, and Παφίας, 16; *Palaeachora*, Στασίγαν, 17, Στασίγας, 18, and no example of the omission; *Polis-tis-Chrysochou*, Ἀριστιγαν, 20, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1886, p. 1643; and κατέθιγαν, 20 (see p. 109); but Νασιώταν and Ὀναίων, 21 (for which Baunack reads Ὀναίων). *Drimu* has Ἰολάω(?), 26; *Ktima*, ἱγερής, 33; *Kúkklia*, ἱγερεύς, 40; ἱγερέος, 39; ἱγαρώματος and ὀσέγα, 41; but δεξίω, 37, and ἱερέος, 38. *Golgoi*, Διγαίθεμι, 74 (cf. Διφείθεμις, 60<sub>21</sub>); Παφίγαν, 69; but Διάθεμι, 100; Διός, 73; εὐεργεσίας, 71; φλακανίω and Ἀφροδισίω, 86; Θεμίου, 66, in Greek letters; Ὀνασίωρο, 75; Ἰαρώ(ν)δαν, 118. *Abydos*, Σαλαμίνιος, 148; *Pyla*, Μαγυρίω, 120, 121 (Hall).

In the above-cited examples γοδ appears twenty-two times, and only four times before ε, seventeen times before α,<sup>3</sup> once before ι, and never before any other sound. In the other examples of the occurrences of γοδ, α follows in almost every instance: Σκύγαρος, 33; Ἄγαρος, 31 (= Ἄϊρος?), *Ktima*; Δαγατίσαιο or Δαϊτίσαιο, 58, *Lamaka*; Θεόστγας?, 119, *Golgoi*; Δαγαφᾶς, 31, 32 (= Δαϊφᾶς?), δογᾶι, 41, *Kúkklia*; θέγας, 94, *Golgoi*; before η in φύγη, 126. And yet despite its fondness for α, γοδ not infrequently disappears before that sound even in those parts of Cyprus where it is commonly written.

The period of accurate distinction between the spirants ι and υ in Cyprian is that of the Persian supremacy over Cyprus. Later on, during the rule of Alexander's successors, the greatest confusion prevails, e.g. Πρώτιφος, Τιμοχάριφος, Κυπροκράτιφος, ἱερέγιγαν, βασιλῆφος, φώρω = ὦρω, Διγαίθεμι, and Διφείθεμις.

σι for τι in σί βόλε· τί θέλει Κύπριοι, and in κέ σις, 60<sub>10,23</sub> (nom. masc. σί τε for σίς τε, 126, is not certain). Cf. also ὀπισίς κε (= ὀστις ἄν), 60<sub>29</sub>, where τ = σ between vowels. In the accus. neuter τι, 68<sub>3</sub> (after a consonant), assibilation does not take place. Cyprian σίς is

<sup>1</sup> Ἄλα(μ)πριγᾶται, Ἀμηνίγα, ἀνοσίγα, Γέπιγα, ἱερέγιγαν, ἰγᾶσθαι, ἰγατήραν, Μανάνιγαι, πεδίγαι, τέρχυνγα (thrice), πτόλιγι.

<sup>2</sup> ἀ(ν)δριγᾶ(ν)ταν, Μιλκιγᾶθωνος.

<sup>3</sup> Διφείθεμις is interesting; but cf. Διγαίθεμι.

the only exception in Greek to the law that initial  $\tau$  does not suffer assibilation. Arcadian, Aeolic, and those dialects that change  $\tau$  to  $\sigma$ , change only that  $\tau$  which is the Hellenic representative of Indo-European  $t$ . Cyprian  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  contains  $\tau =$  I.E.  $q$ . But the exception as regards the initial  $\tau$  never becoming  $\sigma$  is an apparent exception merely, since  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is an enclitic. The interrogative  $\sigma\acute{\iota}$  is to be explained by analogy to  $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ .

NOTE. — On  $\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\tau\iota$ , vocative of  $*\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\tau\iota\varsigma = \acute{\rho}\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , see p. 68, where mention is made of an explanation that it is an unfortunate attempt to give a supposed epic coloring to Cyprian  $\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ .

$\sigma$  is frequently omitted in the genitive  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \text{φαν}\acute{\alpha}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\varsigma$ , and also in the nominative  $\text{Ὀνασίωρο}$ , 75. Meister's treatment (I, p. 160) of the subject in Boeotian and other dialects is inadequate.

$\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau(\iota)$   $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}$ , "and."  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  occurs before both vowels (eight times) and consonants (sixteen times).  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}$  is less frequent, once before vowels, thrice before consonants.  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$  in  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau' \text{Ἡδελίων}$ , 59 (the only occurrence) seems at first sight to be the progenitor of  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}$  as well as of  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\iota$ .  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\iota$  cannot, however, despite Deecke, B. B., VI, 79, be explained from  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$ . It is rather the equivalent of old Bulg.  $\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}} < \text{g}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{i}}$ .

On  $\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , see p. 71.

### III. Declension of substantives.

Gen. sing. O declension ends in  $-\omega\text{-}\nu$ .  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omega\nu$ , 60<sub>1</sub>;  $\text{Ὀνασικύπρων}$ , 60<sub>2-3, 11, 30</sub>;  $\text{Ὀνασίλων}$ , 60<sub>24</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ , 60<sub>17, 25-26</sub>;  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\tau\omega\nu$ , 60<sub>7</sub>;  $\acute{\iota}\chi\eta\rho\omega\nu$ , 60<sub>5, 15</sub>;  $\Delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , 60<sub>19</sub>;  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$ , 42 (Apollon);  $\text{Αβιδμύλκων}$ , 59;  $\pi\epsilon(\mu)\text{φ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ , 59. With the exception of  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  and  $\text{Ὀναίων}$ , 21 (Berl. Philol. Wochensch., 1886, p. 1292), all the examples are from Dali. Dalian inscriptions also have  $-\omega$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$ , 60<sub>6</sub>, etc.).

Cyprian possesses the oldest historical form of the genitive of  $-\eta\nu$  stems, viz.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , 39, 46, 47, 59, 60,<sup>1</sup> etc. But beside the digamated forms we have  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,<sup>2</sup> both of which forms are Homeric. Aeolic, Ionic, Attic, Thessalian, and Boeotian have  $-\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , though Ionic, Aeolic, and Boeotian have also  $-\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\text{Εὐφα}(\nu)\text{θῆφ}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ?, 161,  $\text{Εὐφά}(\nu)\text{θ}\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , 162, as if from  $\text{Εὐφάνθ}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , which does not occur.  $\text{Εὐφάνθ}\eta[\varsigma]$ , 163. This form, together with the doubtful gen. in  $-\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , may furnish another example of the close interrelationship between the  $-\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $-\eta\nu$ , and  $-\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$  stems. Cf. p. 78. In the nom. pl.  $\text{Κετιέφ}\epsilon\varsigma$ , 60, or  $-\eta\phi\epsilon\varsigma$ , if Wackernagel (K. Z., XXIV, 295) is correct in explain-

<sup>1</sup> Deecke writes  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  incorrectly.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also  $\text{Ιερῆφ}\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\text{Ιερέ}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ .

ing this termination from *-εεφ + ες*. Johansson has, however, vigorously disputed the correctness of Wackernagel's reasoning. See especially Chapter II of his *De derivatis verbis contractis*.

Declension of *-κλῆς*. The full form of the nominative appears in *Νικοκλέφης*, 40, gen. *Νικοκλέφος*, 179; *Θεοκλέος*, 126; *Τιμοκλέος*, 35; but *Τιμοκλέεος*, 36, 64. In Arcadian I find eighteen different names with the nom. in *-κλῆς*, and no instance of *-κλέφης* or *-κλέης*; in the genitive, *-κλέος* in fourteen different names. The Arcadian inflection is younger than the Cyprian. Of the two genitive forms in Cyprian, *Νικοκλέφος* is not so original as *Τιμοκλέεος*; cf. Boeot. *κλειος < κλεεος*. There is no trace of *-κλή* in the genitive as in Aeolic (*Θεόκλη*, 288), or of the Attic and Delphic *-κλέου*.

#### IV. Pronominal declension.

*μ* for *με* in No. 2<sup>1</sup>; cf. *μεν* in 71, *μιν* in 45, by Voigt and Hall's corrections.

#### V. Conjugation.

*ἔκερσε*, 31, 32; see pp. 92, 106.

*ἐπισταῖς* in 68 = *ἐπισταίης*, from the analogy of plural forms by a process which is the opposite to that which produced the Herodotean and later Attic *δοίημεν ἐνθείητε*, etc. The form stands alone, I believe.

*ἐλθετῶς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθέ*. *Σαλαμῖνιοι*. cf. *δίδως*, etc.

*δοφεναι* (accent uncertain) is the earliest form of this infinitive. *-ναι* seems to have been crowded out in all other dialects except Ionic-Attic. *δόμει(ν)*, 126, is a Homeric reminiscence, as *ἐνιπή*.

#### VI. Prepositions, Particles.

A preposition *ὑ* with the primary signification of "up" occurs in Cyprian *ὑχηρος*, *extra pay*, *Ὑφέλθων*<sup>2</sup> = *Ἀναβαίνων*,<sup>3</sup> *ὑφ-αὐς ζᾶν*, 60<sup>10, 22-23, 28</sup>, *for life*. In the latter case the sense is not far different from *ἀνὰ χρόνον, ὑ ὄσον, to the festival*; *ὑ τύχα[ι]*, 74<sub>3</sub> = *ἐπὶ τύχη* = *ἐν τύχῃ*. Its occurrence in Pamphylian and in Carian is very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> In No. 1, Voigt thinks *με* is preferable to *μ*, since the character closely resembles that of 15. Hall, however, reads *μ*, which may be either (epigraphically) dialectic for *με* or for *μ(ν)*, as in 45.

<sup>2</sup> This name, together with *Εὐφέλθων*, 123, 171, etc., is remarkable as being entirely new, there being but few, if any, others with *-ελθων* as a final member. In the coining of a new proper name it is necessary that the initial or final member should have already been in use; cf. *Εὐφαγόρας*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> An earlier name of the Maeander.

Pamph. Ὑδραμόναν, 1264, would then have to be divided Ὑ-δραμ-. Carian Ὑβανδα, cf. Ἀλάβανδα, and B. B., X, 191. In ἐνυξάμενος, written by Deecke ἐνυξάμενος, the *ν* is supposed by Meyer, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> § 239, to represent vocalized *ξ*. It is, however, difficult to account for the presence of the labial spirant here. See Brugmann, Gramm., p. 117, and especially Baunack's Studien, I, 16, where the subject of *ν* is discussed, and a weakened force of *ν* (= Skt. *ud*) assumed in ἐνυξάμενος. Hall, Rev. A. O. S., XI, 216, settles the difficulty by reading *μ(ν) εὐξάμενος*.

The Cyprian dialect is peculiar in possessing certain particles not found elsewhere. These are *ιδέ*, *νν*, and *παι*. The use of *δέ*, though frequent in Arcadian, is entirely foreign to the Cyprian idiom. Its place is taken by *ιδέ*, and, for which *ι* appears in 60<sub>24</sub>. But *ιδέ* is used with the force of *δέ* in apodosis. This *ιδέ* suggests the Sanskrit *id*, and may perhaps serve to explain *δέ* in such connection as *ὁ δέ*, which is hardly *ὁ + δέ*.

-*νν* for -*νε* is read by Sayce on the inscription from Tamassus (Berl. Phil. Wochens., 1886, p. 1323). The enclitic *νν*, 60<sub>6, 16</sub>. Cf. A. J. P., VIII, 471.

The particle *παι* appears in *κάς παι*, 60<sub>4</sub>; *ιδέ παι*, 60<sub>12</sub>; *τάς παι*, 71. Whether we are to write *παι* or *πα* is not certain. If *παι*, we may then compare *αι* (cf. above, p. 72), locative from the stem *svā*. *πῆ πῆποκα ὅπη* then contain the instrumental of *πο*-. If *πα*, cf. *ὁπαῖ κα*, C. I. G. 2483<sub>22</sub>.

The results which seem to me justified by an examination of the phonology and inflection of Arcadian and Cyprian are as follows :—

I. *Nature of the connection between Arcadian and Cyprian*.—Arcadian and Cyprian are in closer touch than any other two Hellenic dialects, which have at the same time so many and such varied points of divergence. If we consider the date of the separation of the daughter dialect (a date which on any view must be early, even if we reject the legend handed down by Pausanias), the preservation in Arcadian and Cyprian for so many centuries of autonomous existence of so many cases of agreement in form and in syntactical usage, affords a most striking example of the conservative force of dialect life. This resistance to external influence was effected, it must be remembered, to no inconsiderable extent on the lines of a

syntactical usage which must have encountered the determined hostility of common speech (ἐς with the gen., ἀπύ with the dat.). This pertinacity of linguistic tradition in Arcado-Cyprian is more marked than that displayed by either Aeolic, or Thessalian, or Boeotian, dialects which offered no such stubborn resistance to the elements of disintegration, and which not unwillingly adopted forms alien to the genius of the speech of that territory in North-eastern Hellas, whence they all sprang.

II. *Connection of Arcado-Cyprian with Aeolic, Thessalian, Boeotian, and Elean.* — There is no single striking dialectic feature possessed in common by Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, Thessalian, Boeotian, and Elean. It might indeed seem that in the retention of the I.E. pronunciation of *υ*, these dialects had a meeting-ground. But the Thessalian and Aeolic pronunciation of *υ* is not certain; and even if it were *υ* and not *ϋ*, the retention of a pan-Hellenic sound is no proof of any closer bond, unless it can be shown that before the division into dialects, the other Greeks had adopted the later sound *ϋ*, while the Arcadians, Aeolians, etc., living in closer geographical unity, alone clung to their *υ*. This cannot, however, have been the case, since the Spartans, too, retained with tenacity the older pronunciation. And again, it might seem possible that the preservation of the strong form *ερ* was a distinguishing feature of all these dialects. In Cyprian, it is true, we have no instance of *θέρσος*, though we have *Ἄριστοκρέτης*; but no single word maintains the strong form throughout the six dialects in question. It is doubtless undeniable that Doric has few, if any, cases of *ερ* for *αρ* or *ρα*; but the co-existence of both strong and weak forms as early as Homer indicates that we must not be hasty in ascribing the *ερ* forms to all the subdivisions of a single "Aeolic" dialect, though it is clear that there obtains a tendency in all these dialects to favor the retention of the older of the two pre-dialectic forms *ερ* and *αρ* (*ρα*).

Whenever we start with a phonetic change that might seem adapted to serve as a criterion, the line of argument is uniformly broken. Thus if we start with *ἀπύ*, or *κέ*, Boeo-



tian and Elean are the offending dialects ; if with  $\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$  or with  $\epsilon\nu$  *cum accus.*, Aeolic is the guilty member.

In fact, every argument that has been adduced, from the point of view of language, in favor of a pan-Aeolic dialect, fails to hold ground. Labialism (for the dentalism of the other dialects) is clearly not a phase of "Aeolic" phonetic life.

The universality of assibilation can only be upheld by assuming that  $\nu\tau\iota$  had not become  $\nu\sigma\iota$  in the ground Aeolic, but  $\nu\theta\iota$ , the  $\theta$  of which is held to represent a sound between  $\tau$  and  $\sigma$ . The dulling of closed  $o$  to  $\upsilon$  may be pan-Aeolic, but only in a few words.

Aeolic is bound to Thessalian and to Boeotian by close ties, Thessalian to Boeotian, and Arcadian and Cyprian to Aeolic, Thessalian, and Boeotian by a series of certain and oftentimes unique links, and each is connected with the other by a series of minute correspondences. Aeolic, Thessalian, and Boeotian are more closely connected than any other dialects of this class ; yet they have only one salient feature in common. If we extend our horizon to embrace Arcado-Cyprian and Elean, the attempt to apply the same arguments and gain the results that have accrued to us by an investigation of Doric or of Ionic, is shattered by the logic of unyielding facts. Curtius pronounced long ago in favor of an Aeolic dialect embracing all the sub-dialects except perhaps Elean. Gelbke followed with a more positive assertion, but based on fewer facts. Kirchhoff restricted Aeolic to the dialect of Lesbos and denominated Thessalian and Boeotian Doric. But one who is apparently his scholar, Brand, has now sought to become a unitarian of the unitarians. He is not content with assuming cases of dialect agreement ; he ventures upon the dangerous essay of explaining away all cases of divergence. It is true that certain recent researches have taken a position in favor of an early influence of Ionic which has heretofore not been accorded it. Dialect mixture should, I think, have room and verge enough ; but when recourse is had to it, it must be shown in each individual instance that a distinct probability, not merely a possibility, speaks in favor of its operation. If there is to be method in

dialectology, it must first do away with such work as that of Brand, who attributes an importance to dialect mixture that was unknown before, and solely because the facts do not fit in with his theory. Gerrymandering dialect phenomena cannot but hurt a domain of philology that is sadly in lack of material with which to operate. If, then, there was an "Aeolic" unity, it must have been before the worshippers of the Arcadian Zeus emigrated from Northern Hellas. Into that period of obscurity it is futile to penetrate with the feeble light afforded us by historic times. A pan-Aeolic dialect has not been proved by linguistic evidence — perhaps never can be proved. If it existed, it has left greater divergences in its descendant dialects than either Doric or Ionic.

III. *Arcado-Cyprian in its Relation to Aeolic, Thessalian, Boeotian.* — If we eliminate from the joint possessions of Arcadian and Cyprian those forms that are due to the declining vitality of the old inflectional system, the residue can be claimed as an heirloom from the Arcado-Cyprian period. This is, to be sure, not certain, for many features may have arisen after the separation, and may be of such extreme antiquity that we cannot distinguish them from still older forms such as those which are the exclusive possession of both dialects. Now, though we refused to admit that any pan-Aeolic dialect had been demonstrated, it is possible that the Arcado-Cyprian dialect may show stronger affiliations to the dialects akin to Aeolic than to any other. The evidence, above collected, speaks with no uncertain voice in favor of such a connection with the "Aeolic" dialects; and the legend of the expulsion of the Achaeans, an Aeolic race according to Strabo, might even predispose one in favor of an Aeolic connection.

It is a noteworthy fact that the northernmost of these dialects, that of Thessaly, from which, according to the legendary history of Greece departed Lesbic-Aeolians and Boeotians, is the connecting link between Lesbo-Aeolic and Arcado-Cyprian, and between Boeotian and Arcado-Cyprian. See Collitz, *Verwandschaftsverhältnisse der gr. Dial.* p. 9 ff.

In the *Berliner Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1886, p. 1324, Deecke

has raised the question whether the colonization of Cyprus from Tegea may not have been an Achæan colonization. The Tegeans, then, in crossing Laconia to the sea may have been accompanied by Laconian Achæans who yielded to the irruption of the Dorians.<sup>1</sup> Deecke ascribes to a similarity between Arcadian and Achæan the strong interest in the development of the Homeric epos claimed by Cyprus (A. J. P., VIII, 467 and 481). The worship of Apollo Amyclæos and Apollo Helotas points to a prehistoric connection between Achæan Sparta and Cyprus. Collitz, *Verwantschaftsverh.*, p. 14, claims that the Laconian *Ποιδάν* is borrowed either from Arcadian or from a closely related dialect. *Ποσοιδάν* may have been the Achæan form.

IV. *Arcado-Cyprian and Doric-Ionic*. — Where both Doric and Ionic fall into line with Arcado-Cyprian, the phenomena in question appear to be survivals of the pan-Hellenic period.

V. *Arcado-Cyprian and Doric*. — Traces of the connection of Arcado-Cyprian with Doric alone are far to seek;  $\eta$  by compensatory lengthening (but not  $\omega$ ) has been explained by the adherents of an Aeolic origin of Arcadian as a proof that the ancestors of the Arcado-Cyprians emigrated from a central point in Northern Greece before  $\bar{\epsilon}$  became  $\bar{\epsilon}$ . But it cannot be shown that  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\eta$  was a property of Lesbians, Thessalians, and Boeotians, even on the assumption that they originally inhabited in common a limited geographical area. Is, then, the  $\eta$  of *φθῆρων* due to Doric influence, or can it by any means be shown to be pan-Hellenic? That the former is the only possible explanation is clear, from the fact that the ground-form *\*φθεριω* became *φθῆρω* in no dialect except Doric. An Ionic *φθῆρω* cannot be shown to have ever existed (despite G. Meyer, § 68). *-ερι-* in Ionic may have produced closed  $\epsilon + \rho$  at the very birth of the Ionic dialect. It must therefore be confessed that an unbiassed examination of the evidence makes for the belief that Arcado-Cyprian was either a Doric dialect, or that it borrowed a specifically Doric form in a prehistoric period of its existence. Of the two possibilities, the latter is the more probable from the weight

<sup>1</sup> Ἀχαιομάντεις οἱ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἑρωσύνην ἐν Κύπρῳ, Hesychius.

of other evidence. This is the only certain case where Arcado-Cyprian is certainly Doric in character. If the Cyprian ἔχεν be correct, Arcado-Cyprian may be Doric in having -ν as the termination of the infinitive of thematic verbs. But this is true solely on the view that Ionic ὀφείλεν is spurious. If it is genuine, we are driven to assume a pan-Hellenic ending -ν.

VI. *Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic connected with Ionic-Attic.* — The repugnance to Doric of Arcado-Cyprian in the earliest phase of its existence is as noticeable, as is, on the other hand, the bond of sympathy with Aeolic, and that of Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic with Ionic-Attic. Whether this closer touch is the survival of the period when I.E.  $\bar{a}$  had not yet become  $\eta$  in Ionic-Attic, or is due to a later, but prehistoric, interconnection between these two series of dialects, is a question that perhaps will always await solution. But Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic, despite their divergences, stand out in clearer lines of opposition to Doric than do Thessalian and Boeotian, and on the other hand, seem to form a link in the chain which begins with Doric and ends with Ionic-Attic. This statement must, however, not be forcibly construed to imply that Arcado-Cyprians and Aeolians were the first separatists from a common home.

Arcado-Cyprian then points unmistakably to a connection with the so-called Aeolic dialects. If we now descend lower and seek to discover the affinities of Arcadian and of Cyprian when these dialects diverge, and the causes of this divergence, we enter upon an investigation perhaps the most obscure in the whole domain of Greek dialectology.

VII. *Arcadian as distinguished from Cyprian.* — First the dialect of Arcadia. In no canton of Greece is there greater multiplicity of dialectic phenomena so utterly different in color and texture. Arcadia to a greater degree than Cyprus is a veritable battle-ground of contending dialects. As in the petty island Peparethus, three dialects contend for mastery. Its language is but a reflex of the total absence of political union between its mountainous villages; and even the chief towns were a conglomeration of sometime autonomous demes.

In fact, Arcadia was the least cohesive state in Hellas. It was alone the worship of the gods that brought the Arcadians together in a union which was but temporary.

VIII. The correspondences with Aeolic are insignificant, since, with the exception of *δέκοτος*, they consist of survivals of pan-Hellenic speech. Nor is the connection with Thessalian stronger, since both agree in preserving *vs* (though in different functions) and in expelling the *ν* from the same phonetic group. Where Arcadian and Boeotian meet on parallel lines, their cases of agreement are either pan-Hellenic or Doric. Arcadian, Thessalian, and Boeotian agree in a phonetic change which is Doric as well as Ionic. When we embrace a wider area by adding Aeolic to the list, we encounter but two possible harmonies. Of these, one is probably pan-Hellenic, the other (*ερ* for *αρ ρα* in *θέρσος*) is more properly the possession of dialects of "Aeolic" texture, though not their undisputed possession. It cannot on the whole be affirmed that the "Aeolic" predilections of Arcadian are strongly marked.

Its Ionic proclivities are few in number, but most pronounced. The particle *εἰ* and the infinitive termination *-ναι* are as marked Ionisms as exist in the range of dialect peculiarities.

The Doric side of Arcadian stands out in a strong and clear light. It is, however, but a half-truth when Schrader states, that, wherever Arcadian agrees with dialects of the "Aeolic" sympathies, it agrees at the same time with Doric. Importance should be placed upon the negation of this assertion, as also upon the character of many of the Dorisms of Arcadian, which can easily be shown to be survivals of the pan-Hellenic period. But despite all this, the aggression of Dorisms from the time of the separation of Cyprian is clearly ever more and more vigorous.

IX. *Nature of the Arcadian dialect as distinct from Cyprian.* — It is impossible to give any completely satisfactory explanation of the concurrence of "Aeolic," Ionic, and Doric forms in a canton of the configuration and situation of Arcadia. This concurrence is one of the most remarkable phenomena

in Greek dialectology, as the combatant dialects of the date of our inscriptions seem to have been combatants in a prehistoric period, and in a region to which Attic or Ionic especially, could not, in the ordinary course of dialect life, have found admission. It is incredible that the Attic forms found in the Tegean inscription No. 1222 should have been loan-forms from Attic in the third century B.C. The vigor of the dialect speaks out too impetuously for that.

The Aeolisms of the Greek language are passive, rarely aggressive (as in Chios: *πρήξοισι, δέκων*). Where they exist in the language of the people they have existed from a period antedating all historical ken. They are never a force in dialect mixture, save in literature. Greek dialectology tells of their ever-receding force, beaten back by the increasing sway of other dialects, such as Doric or Attic, which are the disintegrating factors of the dialect-life of Hellas.

I can therefore see no stable ground on which to establish any immediate sympathy of Arcadian with "Aeolic" dialects, save on the view that the Arcadians were once geographically nearer the ancient Aeolians. Tradition deserts us in our search for an original home of the Arcadians in Northern Hellas. They were to the other Greeks and to themselves *αὐτόχθονες*.

It was beyond the scope of this paper to open up any discussion of the probability of the view proposed. Its difficulty lies not only in the danger that over-zealous investigators may at once assume a period of "Aeolic" unity, but also in the necessity of showing how the Cyprian forms, which have diverged from Arcadian, came into existence.

X. *Ionic and Arcadian as distinct from Cyprian.*—The Ionic ingredients of Arcadian are perhaps due less to Ionic settlers in Arcadia at the time of the Dorian invasion, than to the Ionians of Achaea who had been expelled by the Southern Achaeans, according to Herodotus. If the Cynurians were, as Herodotus assumed (VIII, 73), Ionians before they were Dorized, we have in them a possible, though uncontrollable, source of Arcadian Ionisms.

XI. *Doric and Arcadian as distinct from Cyprian.*—The

Dorisms present less difficulty. They are the natural result of the Doric environment of Arcadia. The states of Arcadia, because of no mutual cohesion, became either allies of Sparta (for example, Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos) or sought for other extraneous assistance. The later history of Arcadian is the story of the aggressiveness of the speech of the mistress of the Peloponnesus. With this extension of Dorism the statement of Strabo comports well (VIII, 1, 2, = 333):—

Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι (Pelop.) μικτῇ τινι (διαλέκτῳ) ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἱ δ' ἥττον αἰολίζοντες· σχεδὸν δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν (19 A.D.) κατὰ πόλεις ἄλλοι ἄλλως διαλέγονται, δοκοῦσι δὲ δωρίζειν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπικράτειαν.

The history of the hill-villages of Arcadia or of the rivalries of Tegea and Mantinea, while it explains the possibility of a tenacious hold of ancient dialect-life, at the same time shows that when Spartan influence became supreme, many of the ancient dialect forms would disappear. At the time of Thucydides, Sparta held two-fifths of the Peloponnesus. Even the northern boundary of Sparta consisted of petty Arcadian townships. We have had occasion to admit that even in Arcado-Cyprian times, Doric influence had forced a footing into a dialect that was otherwise in closer touch with "Aeolic." Legendary history but confirms the evidence of language. Charilaus took Aegys; Oenus and Carystus were Spartan as early as the times of Alcman; the Sciritis district had been conquered by 600 B.C.; and though Tegea retained her autonomy, she was under the military dominion of her more warlike neighbor. It was not until the foundation of Megalopolis that Spartan supremacy lost any of its power. But even from the battle of Leuctra on, the very memory of that supremacy could not fail to make itself felt in the domain of language which was subject to the control of no Epaminondas.

XII. *Cyprian as distinguished from Arcadian.*—The traces of sympathy between Cyprian and Aeolic, or Thessalian, or Boeotian, are not strongly marked. With Aeolic Cyprian has *κυμερ-* for *κυβερ-*, but its other points of agreement with Aeolic and the other dialects of this class are generally shared in by either Ionic or Doric. The connection of Arcadian with

Aeolic is perhaps stronger than that of Cyprian with Aeolic. Cyprian, Aeolic, Thessalian, and Boeotian have resisted longer than Doric the ingression of the Ionic *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*.

With Doric, Cyprian, apart from Arcadian, seems in closer touch than with Ionic; which need not be wondered at, since Rhodes, Crete, Pamphylia, and other settlements of Doric growth were not far distant. Curium is said to have been settled by an Argive colony (Strabo, XIV, 683; Hdt. V, 113); and one of the neighboring towns was called Argos.

XIII. *Character of the differences between Arcadian and Cyprian.* — If we compare those cases in which there is an absolute disagreement between Arcadian and Cyprian, it is evident that either the one dialect or the other has preserved the more ancient form. In some instances where it is impossible to fix the chronology of a phonetic change or where two variant forms appear to antedate the separation into dialects, we can obtain no light as to the relative priority of Arcadian or of Cyprian.

Thus Arcadian has *τει*-, Cyprian *πει*- (*ἀποτειέτω, πείσει*), Arcadian *πόλις*, Cyprian *πτόλις*, Arcadian *εἰ*, Cyprian *ῆ*.

The "acorn-eating" Arcadians are less prone to admit innovations than their offspring. Thus they have preserved antevocalic *ε*, the ancient locative plural, though in but a single example, *-αν* from *ᾱ + σι̯ο*, instead of adopting, as the Cyprians occasionally have done, the Doric *-ᾱ* or the Ionic *-ω*; in the O declension they have kept the termination pure, refusing to allow the adhesion of *ν*; they have not suffered *ἄλλων* to be softened into *αἰλων*; they have resisted the expulsion of secondary intervocalic *σ* (Cyprian *φρονέωι*); they have preserved *σ* where it is in place (Cyprian *τᾱ φανᾱσ(σ)ας*); they have not changed *τ* from I.E. *q* to *σ*; they have no *ζ* for *δ̱*-. That *ἄν* = *ἄνά* is a loan-form in Arcadian, though older than *ὄν*, is probable, since it is difficult to account for a later ingression of an Aeolic form into Cyprus. The Aeolisms of Cyprus are generally joint possessions of Arcadian and Cyprian. It is more probable that Arcadian should have adopted Dorisms than that Cyprian should have lost Aeolisms.

But as in the offspring hereditary traits are reproduced



which have not appeared in the parent, so Cyprian is oftentimes the representative of a more ancient period than Arcadian. It has the oldest genitive of the *ην*-stems in *βασιλῆφος*; it has the ancient *-κλέφεος*, whereas the Arcadian genitive is invariably *-κλεος*; it has *ἔκερσε*, whereas Arcadian, even on the view that the vexatious *φθέραι* is for *φθήραι*, is younger; it has *ᾱς* in the feminine genitive, while Arcadian has *-αν*. And furthermore, it has clung tenaciously to such an older form as *-ει* in the dative of *-ες* stems, where Arcadian has *πλήθι*.

## INDEX.

### I.

Accusative: in *-ν* in conson. declension, 107; in *-ην* from *-ες* stems, 113.

Aorist: *ἀπυῶδας*, 104; in *-ν* (*ἀνέθεν*), 98; in *-ξα* in *-ξω* verbs, 96; *ἔκερσε*, 92, 106, 130; *φθέραι*, 92, 94, 100, 130; *κατέθισαν*, 109; termination in *-ει*(?), 101; in *-αι*, 100.

Apocope of prepositions, 81.

Assibilation, 68, 78, 100, 117, 122, 129.

Compensatory lengthening: *-ανς*, 86 ff.; *-ονς*, 79, 83; *-ενς*, 86 ff., 92, 94, 100, 112; *-ενF*, 94; *-εσν*, 79, 93; *-εσμ*, 79, 112; *-ερι*, 79, 92, 124.

Contraction: *α+ε*, 79, 81, 109, 111; *α+ο*, 81; *α+ω*, 81; *ᾱ+ο*, 81, 98; *ᾱ+ω*, 81, 97; *ε+ε*, 81, 98; *ε+ο*, 109, 112; *η+ε*, 98; *ο+α*, 111; *ι+ε*, 82, 104, 106.

Dative (or locative): in *-αι*, 72; in *-αις*, 84; in *-ωι*, 73, 88, 94; in *-ω*, 73; in *-οισι*, 84, 129; of *-ες* stems, 93, 103, 113, 130; in *-εσι*, 102; in *-ηι*, 108, 111.

Declension of *-κλῆς*, 113, 119, 130; of *η* stems, 78, 118.

Dual, 97.

Epenthesis: *αἰλων*, 114 ff., 129.

Future: *διακωλύσει*(?), 92, 101.

Genitive: *Ā* declension: in *-ω*, 111, 118, 129; in *-α*, 108, 112, 129; in *-αο*, 65,

88, 108; in *-αν*, 64, 88, 103, 108, 112, 129, 130; in *-ᾱν*, 80.

Genitive singular: in *-ν*, *Ō* declension, 68, 85, 118, 129; in *-ῆφος*, *-έος*, 79, 118, 130; in *-κλέφεος*, 119, 130; in *-κλέφος*, 119.

Imperative in *-ντω*, 88, 95; *ἐλθετῶς*, 119; *ἄφρώσθω*, 100.

Imperfect: *ῆς*, 81.

Infinitive: in *-εν*, 80, 96, 108, 124; in *-ηναι*, 69, 104; in *-ναι*, 69, 78, 108, 119, 126.

Itacism, 93, 103, 130.

Labialism, 122.

Locative: in *-αι*, 73, 120; in *-οι*, 73, 88, 100; in *-οισι*, 129.

Nominative plur.: in *-εFες*, 118.

Optative: *ἐπισταῖς*, 119; *φθέραι*, 92; *διακωλύσει*(?), 92, 101.

Participle: of *εἰμί*, 81.

Perfect: in *ορ*, *αρ*, 104; *λελαβηκώς*, 100.

Prepositions: *ἀν*, 88, 95, 129; *ἀνά*, 88, 129; *ἀπύ*, *cum dat.*, 66; *ἀπύ*=*ἀπό*, 71, 121; *ἐκ*, *ἐξ*, 66, 72, 80; *ἐς*, *έςς*, 66, 72, 80, 121, 122; *ὄν*, 76, 88, 129; *πῶ* (or *ποί*), 67, 112; *πός*, *ποτί*, 66, 67; *ύ*, 82, 119; *ύν*, 76, 77, 88; apocope of, 81.

Pronouns: *μί*, 68, 119; *μίν*, 68, 119; *σφεῖς*, 104.

Psilosis, 85.

Relatives used for demonstratives, 80.

Spirants  $\lambda$  and  $\nu$  confused, 117.

Subjunctives in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\tauοι$ , 99.

Vocative: in  $-\epsilon$ , ( $-\epsilon\varsigma$  decl.), 99; in  $\eta$  ( $-\epsilon\varsigma$  decl.), 99, 113.

$\Upsilon\omicron\delta$ , 116, 117.

## II.

$\alpha$ , relation to  $\epsilon$ , 114.

$\tilde{\alpha}$ , relation to  $\omega$  in  $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , 98.

$\tilde{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ , 102, 116.

$\alpha\iota$ , dat. or locat., 74.

$\tilde{\alpha}\iota$ , treatment of, in the dialects, 73.

$\alpha\iota$ , 72, 91.

$\alpha\tilde{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ , 114 ff., 129.

$\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ , 81, 110.

$\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , 114 ff.

$\tilde{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ , 92 ff., 115.

$\tilde{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\nu$ , 92.

$\tilde{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ , 92, 115.

$\tilde{\alpha}\nu = \tilde{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ , 88, 89, 129.

$\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , in conjunction with  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ , 71, 91, 112.

$\tilde{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ , 88, 129.

$\tilde{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$ , 98.

$-\alpha\nu\varsigma$ , treatment of, 86 ff.

$\alpha\omicron$ : contracted to  $\alpha\nu$ , 65; in gen.  $\tilde{\alpha}$ -decl., 65, 88, 103; for  $\alpha\nu$  in Attic, 65.

$\tilde{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\nu$ , 97, 115.

$\tilde{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , and cognate forms, 97, 108.

$\tilde{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$ : with dat., 66, 121; =  $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ , 71, 76 ff.

$\tilde{\alpha}\pi\nu\delta\acute{o}\alpha\varsigma$ , 104.

$\alpha\rho$ ,  $\epsilon\rho$ , and  $ο\rho$ , 88, 90, 102, 104;  $\alpha\rho$  and  $\rho\alpha$ , 103.

$\tilde{\alpha}\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\alpha$ , 111.

$-\alpha\nu$ : gen. masc., 64, 88, 98, 108, 112, 129; gen. fem. in Arcad., 103, 130; in  $\text{Νοσταμαύσαντος}$ , 115; relation to  $\alpha\omicron$ , 64, 88; quantity of  $\alpha$  in  $\alpha\nu$ , 65.

$\tilde{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\omega$ , 100.

$\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , 70.

$\tilde{\delta}$ , relation to  $\beta$ , 70, 102; to  $\zeta$ , 103, 107.

$\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$ , 95.

$-\delta\epsilon$  and  $-\delta\iota$ , 68;  $-\delta\epsilon$  and  $-\delta\alpha$ , 104.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota$ , 87, 99.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , 102.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 84, 126.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ , 103.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ , 90, 103.

$\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , 92, 101.

$\delta\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\iota\varsigma$ , 112.

$\Delta\iota\acute{o}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , forms of the name, 89.

$\delta\nu\acute{\phi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$ , 104, 114.

$\epsilon$  for  $\alpha$ , 81, 85, 114.

$\epsilon$ , relation to  $\alpha$ , in  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , 114.

$\epsilon$ , antevocalic, not =  $\iota$ , 81, 84, 109, 112, 129.

$\epsilon$  for  $\omicron$ , 88.

$\epsilon\iota$ : genuine diphthong, 92 ff., 115 ff.;

relation to  $\eta$ , 92, 115.

$\epsilon\iota$ , 72, 91, 115, 126, 129.

$\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ , 115.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ , 66, 72, 80.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon$ , 92, 106, 130.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , 105.

$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , 119

$\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , 89.

$\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , 80.

$-\epsilon\nu$ , infinitive, 80, 96, 108, 124.

$\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ , 66, 72.

$\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\sigma\iota$ , 66, 87.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , 91.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , 119.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\tilde{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota$ , 99.

$\epsilon\rho$  and  $\rho\alpha$ , 70, 90.

$\epsilon\rho$  and  $\alpha\rho$ , 70, 90, 102, 113, 121, 126;

$\epsilon\rho$  and  $ο\rho$ , 88, 104.

$\acute{\epsilon}\rho = \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ , 90, 113.

$-\epsilon\rho\iota-$  (see Compens. Length.).

$-\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ , treatment of, 92, 94.

$-\epsilon\varsigma$ , personal ending, 79.

$\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma = \acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ , 66, 72, 80.

$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ , 102.

$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , 89, 91, 101, 109.

$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\varsigma$ , 66, 72, 121, 122.

$\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , 104.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\nu$ , 80, 96, 108, 124.

$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\nu$ , 81.

$\zeta = \gamma$ , 116; =  $\delta\iota$ , 103, 107, 129.

$\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ , 103.

$\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha$ , 103.

$\zeta$ , lost, 82, 87.

$\zeta$ , vocalized, 82, 120.

$\zeta\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ , 93, 115 ff.

$\zeta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , 89, 91, 101, 109.

$\zeta\rho$ , in the dialects, 109.

$\eta$ , relation to  $\tilde{\alpha}$ , 89, 111; to  $\epsilon\iota$ , 72, 92 ff.; in augment, 81; by contraction, 83, 98.

$\acute{\eta} = \epsilon\iota$ , 72, 115, 129.

$\eta$  stems, 78, 118.

$\eta$ , by compensatory lengthening (see Compens. Length. and 124).

-ηι, treatment of, 73, 74, 108.  
 ἦ κε, 72.  
 ἦμι, 79, 112.  
 ἦμις, 85.  
 ἦμιςσος, 85.  
 ἦναι, 69, 93, 94, 104.  
 -ἦναι, inf. ending, 69.  
 ἦς, 81.  
 θ, disappearance of, in ἐσλός, 102.  
 -θα, 101.  
 θάρσος, 90.  
 -θε, 101.  
 θεᾶρός, 89, 98.  
 Θελπ- and Θελφ-, 161.  
 θέρσος, 71, 90, 121, 126.  
 θεωρός, 89, 98.  
 θράσος, 90.  
 ζ = yod, as glide sound before ε, α, ι,  
 116, 117.  
 ι, intervocalic, lost, 83, 84, 90; = γ, 116.  
 ι from ε, before vowels, 84, 109.  
 ι from ε before cons., 80, 89, 101, 109.  
 ἰγᾶσθαι, 81, 109.  
 ἱαρός, 81.  
 ἰδῆ, 120.  
 ἱέρης, 79.  
 ἱερός, 81.  
 ἰν, for ἐν, 80.  
 ἰονσι, or ἰωσι, 66, 87.  
 κ and τ, 107.  
 κά, *and*, 118.  
 καί, etymology of, 118.  
 κάν, 71.  
 κάς, 118.  
 κατέθισαν, 109.  
 κάτι, 118.  
 κέ, in conjunction with ἄν, 71, 91, 112,  
 121.  
 κελεύωνσι, 86 ff.  
 κίς = τίς, 107.  
 κράτος, 70.  
 Κραριῶται, 103, 109.  
 κρέτος, 70, 90.  
 κυμερῆναι, 69, 106, 128.  
 λ and ρ, interchange of, 103.  
 λελαβηκώς, 100.  
 μ, for β, 106, 128.  
 Μελιχίωι, 94.  
 μεστ-, 101, 111.  
 μί = μέ, 68, 119.  
 μίν, 68, 119.

-ν, termination in ἀνέθεν, 98.  
 -ναι, infin. termination, 69, 78, 119, 126.  
 ν, ἐφελκυστικόν, 69, 110, 129.  
 -νε, 68, 85.  
 -νι, 68, 85.  
 Νικοκλέφης, 119, 130.  
 νς (see Compens. Length. and 126).  
 -νσι, verbal termination, 66, 78, 86, 122.  
 -ντι, in the dialects, 66, 78, 86, 122.  
 -ντω, imperative, 88, 95.  
 νύ, 68, 120.  
 ξενο-, relation to ξεινο- and ξηνο-, 94.  
 ο, pronunciation of, 83.  
 ο, for α, 84, 105.  
 ο, relation to ου, in δαμιουργοί, 95.  
 ο, relation to υ, 75, 76, 101, 122.  
 ὀβελός, ὀδελός, etc., 102.  
 -οι, locative, 73, 88, 100.  
 -οισι, 84, 129.  
 ὄν = ἀνά, 76, 88, 108, 129.  
 Ὀναίων, 111.  
 -ονς-, treatment of, 83, 86 ff., 100.  
 ορ, ερ, and αρ, 104.  
 ὀρύξη, 96.  
 παί, 120.  
 π and τ interchange, 83, 102, 106, 107,  
 129.  
 πείσει, 107, 116, 129.  
 πέντε and πεμπ-, 83, 106.  
 πηλ- = τηλ-, 83.  
 πληστο-, 93, 115.  
 πλειστο-, 93, 115.  
 ποεχόμενον, 68.  
 ποῖ (or ποί), 67, 112.  
 πόλις, 71, 129.  
 πός, 67.  
 Ποσοιδάν and connected forms, 98, 124.  
 ποτί, prep., 67.  
 πότι, voc., 67, 116, 118.  
 πρόσ, 101.  
 πτόλεμος, 71, 118.  
 πτόλις, 71, 129.  
 ρ, for λ, 103.  
 ρς, treatment of, 92, 94, 106.  
 σ, expelled between vowels, 112, 129;  
 omitted in the gen., 118, 129.  
 σαν-, relation to σα-, 65, 82.  
 Σελαμινίων, 114.  
 σί, for τί, 68, 70, 117, 129.  
 στρότος, 104.  
 σφείς, 104.

τ and π interchange, 83, 102, 106, 107,

129; τ and κ, 107.

-τε Cyprian = -τα and -κα, 111.

τει-, in ἀπυτεϊέτω, etc., 107, 129.

τέρχυνγᾶ, 90, 113.

τέταρτος, 102.

τηλ- = πηλ-, 83.

τι = σι, 68, 78, 100.

Τιμοκλέφους, 109.

-τοι = -ται, 86, 104.

τόνς, 86.

τός, 86.

τριακάσιοι, 91, 99, 105.

τρίτος and τέρτος, 102.

-τυ for -το, 76.

τωνί, 68.

τώς, 86.

υ, pronunciation in the dialects, 65, 75,

121; relation to ο, 75, 122; to ω,

114; preposition, 82, 119; = vocalized F, 82, 120.

ὕεψδμενος, 68, 82.

\*Υφηι, 74, 108.

-υι, for -οι, 77.

υίς, 101.

ὕν = ἀνά, 76, 77.

ὕχηνος, 68, 120.

φθέραι, 92, 94, 100, 130.

φθήρων, 92.

φρονέωι, 112, 129.

ω, relation to υ, 114.

ω, not changed to ου in Cyprian, 108,

114.

-ω verbs inflected according to -μ class, 90.

-ωι, dative, 73, 88, 94.

-ων, genitive in Cyprian, 68, 85, 118.

## THE ARCAIDO-CYPRIAN DIALECT. — *ADDENDA*.



IN the interval between the completion of my paper on the Arcado-Cyprian dialect and its publication, I have collected the following *addenda*.

Page 61, note. The verb *ῥέχω* derives additional confirmation from the Cyprian *ῥῥεξε* (*Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 67). This (*ῥ*)*έχω* appears in *γαίησχος*, and is to be distinguished from (*σ*)*έχω*.

Page 75, note 3. Read *Eubæan*. On the pronunciation of *οι* in Styra, see Bechtel, *Inschriften des ion. Dialekts*, pp. 17, 37.

Page 80. The instance of Cretan *in cum accus.* might recall the supposed case of *ἐν cum accus.* in Laconian (*ἐλ Λακεδαίμονα*, Cauer 26<sub>8</sub>). This is however = *ἐς Λακ.*

Page 92. Brugmann (*Grundriss*, § 131) maintains that *ἀμείνων* is from *ἀμεν-ων* by compensatory lengthening. Brugmann, as well as Meister, takes no account of the character of the diphthong in Attic inscriptions (*ἀμΕΙνων*). Brugmann (§ 639), following Osthoff, even goes so far as to refer the genuine *EI* of *ἀλείων μείζων* to the influence of *ἀμείνων*, which, on his view, must have a spurious *EI*.

Page 95. I now prefer to explain *δαμοργοί* as arising from *δαμιο(ε)ργοί*. There are three methods of treating compounds whose final member is *-εργος* or *-εργης*. See Bechtel, *Inscr. des ion. Dial.* p. 190.

A. Non-contraction of the vowels in contact. *ὀβριμοεργῶν*, Callinus 3; *ἀγαθοεργοί*, Hdt. A 67, etc.; *λυκιοεργέας*, Hdt. H 76, cf. A 65 hexam.

B. By contraction of the vowels.

1. *παναλουργέα*, Xenoph. 3<sub>8</sub>; *ὑπουργημάτων*, Hdt. A 137. *Τηιουργός, μιλησιουργής, χιουργής* in the Delian inventory of the temple of Apollo (Dittenb. *Sylloge*, 367); *Λυκοῦργος*, Styra, 19<sub>15</sub>.

2. *καρικευργέος*, Anacr. 91.

C. By expulsion of one of the vowels.

1. *ἀλοργήν*, Samos, 220<sub>15</sub>, 16, 19, and *ἀλοργάς, ἀλοργά, ἀλοργοῦς, ἀλοργοῦν, παναλοργές δημοργοῦ* in the same inscription; *ἱροργίαι*, Hdt. E 83 (in Mss. *A B C*). Cf. *Ὀλόντιοι* in Cretan, *Ὀπόντιοι* in Locrian, *Σελινόντιος* Coll. *Samml.* No. 3044.

2. *δημεργός*, Nisyros (Dittenb. *Syll.* 195); *λυεργής*, Lycoph. 716.

Page 97. The form [έλλανο]δικόντων should also appear under a separate section (cf. p. 112), illustrating the disappearance of the ε of εο in contract verbs. This phenomenon is foreign to Cyprian, and occurs in Arcadian only in this word. See G. Meyer, Gramm. § 151.

Page 104. Instances of *op, po = ap, po*, even in Ionic, show how weak the hold of Aeolic is upon these forms. Βρόταχας, Panticapaion 117, Ephesus (Wood, *Discov. at Eph.* App. 2, no. 2), in Xenophanes, according to the *Et. Mag.*, and in the name of a Gortynian, Simonides Ceos 127, is equivalent to βρόταχος = βδ-τραχος, Germ. *Kröte*; πορδακώσιν, Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archil. (140) has παρδοκόν, and Hdt. βάτραχος or βάθρακος.

Page 108. Cf. Cyprian *νίφεϊ*, *Athenæum*, 1882, No. 2847, p. 644.

Page 111. In reference to the Cyprian genitives Εἰφαγόρω and Ἀμύντω, ascribed by Meyer to Ionic influence, it should be said that in no Ionic inscription, except Halic. 240 B 3, is there a genitive in -αγόρω. We find Ἀμύντω, Halic. 240<sub>26</sub>, and Ἀμύντα, Iasos 104<sub>21, 24</sub>. For the Ionic genitives in -ω of Bechtel, *Inscr. des. ion. Dial.* p. 109.

Page 111. ὥρη, quoted from an inscription from Miletus, has, according to Bechtel (on No. 100), nothing to do with οὐρά, but is = Lat. *sūra*. Cf. Schol. H. Q. on Od. μ 89.

Page 112. Third line from end, insert before *inter* the word *littera*.

Page 114. On αἶλος, cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, § 639.

Page 114. ἔρμυλα α' ὑποδήματα, Κύπριοι and ἔρμωλα ἀρτύματα, Ἀρκάδες do not prove the interchange of ω and υ.

Page 118. The vocative δέσποτε, *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* III. 165, No. 7, 2 is noticeable.

Abbreviations: *Hall. Rev. A. O. S.* = Hall's Review of Deecke's Collection, in the eleventh volume of the Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. *G. G. A.* = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.

H. W. S.

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